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AUTHOR	Mukai, Gary; Cheng, Amy; Amar, Jasmine; Donahue, Dave; Fisher, Grace; Klein, Emily; Lee, Joanne
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ABSTRACT

This curriculum unit is part two of a three-part series. Each of the three parts can be taught independently. The lessons include perspectives from each of the countries under study. This unit introduces students to challenges and opportunities presented by policy options for U.S. and Japanese relations with the Korean Peninsula at the turn of the century. Identifying and examining these options, students will gain an awareness of U.S., Japanese, and Korean perspectives on political, economic, and security issues. Provided is a rationale and introduction to the lessons, along with unit goals, materials, time required, suggested sequence of activities, small group roles, subjects, equipment needed, icons, and policy study references. The seven lessons include: (1) "Historical Legacies: The Japanese Colonization of Korea"; (2) "Historical Legacies: The Korean War - Perspectives from Leaders"; (3) "Korea's Contemporary Political Situation: A News Conference"; (4) "Korea's Contemporary Economic Situation: Where to Build a Factory"; (5) "U.S. Relations with the Korean Peninsula: With a Focus on Security"; (6) "Japanese Relations with the Korean Peninsula: With a Focus on Civil Rights of Koreans in Japan"; and (7) "Korean Reunification: Selected Scenarios." Contains a list of references for each lesson. (EH)

ED 433 290

UNDERSTANDING THE KOREAN PENINSULA IN THE 21ST CENTURY:

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SECURITY ISSUES IN THE ASIA/PACIFIC REGION

PART II

U.S. AND JAPANESE RELATIONS WITH THE KOREAN PENINSULA: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

Developed by Gary Mukai
Amy Cheng and Jasmine Amar
with contributions from Dave Donahue, Grace Fisher, Emily Klein and Joanne Lee

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For further information contact:
The Asia/Pacific Project, SPICE
Institute for International Studies (IIS)
Littlefield Center, Room 14, Stanford University, 300 Lasuen Street,
Stanford, CA 94305-5013
Tel: (800) 578-1114
Fax: (415) 723-6784
WWW: HTTP://WWW-IIS.Stanford.Edu
Email: SPICE.sales@Forsythe.Stanford.Edu

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Unit Introduction

UNDERSTANDING THE KOREAN PENINSULA IN THE 21ST CENTURY: POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SECURITY ISSUES IN THE ASIA/PACIFIC REGION

U.S. AND JAPANESE RELATIONS WITH THE KOREAN PENINSULA—OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

Rationale and Introduction to Lessons

The thawing of Cold War tensions in Northeast Asia and new configurations in North Korean–South Korean relations (spanning the nuclear issue to prospects for regional economic cooperation) raise new (and possibly welcome) challenges for U.S.–Japanese–South Korean relations.

Given historical frictions and ongoing jockeying for position, the challenge for Tokyo, Seoul, and Washington is to deal with Korean Peninsula developments in a way consonant with positive U.S.–Japan, U.S.–Republic of Korea (ROK), and Japan–ROK ties (Gerrit W. Gong, Seizaburo Sato, and Tae Hwan Ok, eds., *Korean Peninsula Developments and U.S.–Japan–South Korea Relations*, Volume 1, 1993, p. v).

Understanding the Korean Peninsula in the 21st Century: Political, Economic, and Security Issues in the Asia/Pacific Region is part 2 of a three-part curriculum series. Parts 1 and 3 focus on U.S. and Japanese relations with China and Vietnam, respectively. This curriculum series introduces students to policy options for the United States and Japan in various Asian countries at the turn of the century. Many scholars and business leaders are referring to the 21st century as the "Pacific Age." The rapid economic growth and the accompanying changes unfolding in Asia merit thoughtful attention. *The Asian Wall Street Journal Weekly* has recently noted that by the year 2000, Asian economies will exceed those of Canada, the United States, and Mexico combined. It also notes the following:

- Asia controls two-thirds of all consumer electronics manufacturing and nearly half of the world auto production.
- The GNP of Pacific Rim economies will total an estimated $13 trillion by the year 2000—twice the GNP of a unified Europe.
- In less than ten years, six of the ten largest cities in the world will be on the Pacific—none will be in Europe.

unit introduction

The future of countries such as the United States and Japan is inextricably tied to that of Asia. It is important that as young people study contemporary world issues they develop a knowledge of Asian countries and the issues affecting relationships between their own country and Asia. Working with primary source materials including policy studies, news articles, political cartoons, textbook excerpts, speeches, and/or interviews, students consider the complex interaction of historic, political, economic, and security issues through specific case studies. The students identify and examine these issues and consider important policy questions.

Each of the three parts of this curriculum series can be taught independently. A strong effort has been made to include perspectives from each of the countries under study. For example, in this curriculum unit, *Understanding the Korean Peninsula in the 21st Century: Political, Economic, and Security Issues in the Asia/Pacific Region*, perspectives from U.S., Japanese, and Korean scholars, political leaders, business leaders, and journalists are included. Because of this, we feel that this three-part series, taught in its entirety, can add an important element to a high school or community college class in social studies, contemporary world issues, or international relations.

Understanding the Korean Peninsula in the 21st Century: Political, Economic, and Security Issues in the Asia/Pacific Region seeks to introduce students to challenges and opportunities presented by policy options for U.S. and Japanese relations with the Korean Peninsula at the turn of the century. By identifying and examining these options, students will gain an awareness of U.S., Japanese, and Korean perspectives on political, economic, and security issues.

Lesson 1 of the unit sets the historical context for the study of contemporary Japanese relations with the Korean Peninsula. The lesson focuses on specific episodes prior to and during the Japanese colonization of Korea, 1910–1945.

Lesson 2 sets the historical context for the study of contemporary U.S. relations with the Korean Peninsula. The lesson introduces students to the contextual setting of the Korean War, 1950–1953, with a specific focus on the atomic bomb debate. Students participate in an International Peace Conference.

Lesson 3 focuses on North and South Korea's contemporary political situation and U.S. and Japanese political relations with these countries. A press conference introduces students to U.S., Japanese, North Korean, and South Korean perspectives.

Lesson 4 introduces students to the contemporary economic situations of North and South Korea through a role play in which students decide where to build an automobile assembly plant. Students are provided with data on four countries—North Korea, South Korea, Japan, and the United States—and consider factors that help them make an investment decision on where to build a factory.

Lesson 5 introduces students to issues related to U.S. policy toward the Korean Peninsula, with a focus on security. Students, representing the countries of China, South Korea, North Korea, Japan, Russia, and

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the United States, engage in developing newspapers concerning nuclear arms. In addition, students engage in discussions regarding U.S. troops in Asia, and examine demilitarized zone (DMZ) art activism.

Lesson 6 introduces students to issues related to Japanese relations with the Korean Peninsula, with a focus on the Korean experience in Japan. This lesson focuses specifically on civil rights issues of Koreans in Japan and examines how this has had an impact on Japanese relations with North and South Korea.

Finally, Lesson 7 seeks to identify and describe various scenarios leading to Korean reunification. Students in small groups analyze eight scenarios ranging from reunification by war to reunification by mutual consent to reunification by default. Students are also introduced to Japanese and U.S. perspectives on Korean reunification.

Unit Goals

Each of the seven lessons in this curriculum unit has specific learning objectives listed. These objectives have been divided into knowledge, attitude, and skill objectives for students. The following reflect larger goals for the curriculum unit as a whole.

In this curriculum unit, students will:

- learn to recognize multiple perspectives presented in the media
- examine how historical legacies continue to affect international relationships and events between the United States, Japan, and North and South Korea
- develop a basic understanding of North and South Korea's political situation and an appreciation of the multiple U.S. and Japanese perspectives on this situation
- become familiar with the interdependence that exists between the U.S., Japanese, and South Korean economies
- become familiar with Kim Il Sung's philosophy of *juche*
- learn about security and nuclear issues surrounding U.S. relations with South and North Korea
- learn about Japanese relations with North and South Korea through an examination of civil rights issues affecting Koreans in Japan
- become familiar with issues surrounding unification of the Korean Peninsula and implications for the United States and Japan
- learn to think critically and make informed opinions
- evaluate different opinions and generate alternative perspectives on an issue
- learn tools to enhance awareness and communication
- work effectively in small and large groups
- organize and express opinions in a debate

Materials

Handouts and primary source documents have been provided with each lesson to present students with a range of perspectives on the topic being studied. Permission is given to reproduce these handouts and documents for classroom use only. Each lesson provides a list of materials for that lesson.

Time, Suggested Sequence of Activities

Understanding the Korean Peninsula in the 21st Century: Political, Economic, and Security Issues in the Asia/Pacific Region is divided into seven lessons. We recommend two to three class periods for each lesson. The various activities have been designed to give students multiple perspectives on the topic being studied.

Small Group Roles

Understanding the Korean Peninsula in the 21st Century: Political, Economic, and Security Issues in the Asia/Pacific Region engages students in many small group activities. Some of the suggested roles and responsibilities for students working in small groups are:

- **Facilitator**: responsible for reading instructions or designating someone in the group to read instructions, for assuring that the group is on task, and for communicating with the instructor
- **Recorder**: responsible for writing answers to questions, taking notes, etc.
- **Timekeeper**: responsible for keeping track of the time allocated for activities
- **Materials Manager**: responsible for obtaining and keeping track of materials used by the group
- **Harmonizer**: responsible for the group process, making sure, for example, that no one dominates the discussion or that everyone is participating
- **Reporter**: responsible for organizing group presentations and presenting results of activities to the class

Some lessons in this curriculum unit have specific small group roles listed by individual lesson.

Subjects

This curriculum unit is recommended for use in social studies, history, global/international studies, and contemporary issues classes.

Equipment

- Overhead Projector

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Icons

For easier reference the following icons are used throughout the unit:

Notes to the Teacher

Student Cards

Small Group Activity

Group Presentation

Transparency

Policy Study References

Gerrit W. Gong, Seizaburo Sato, and Tae Hwan Ok, eds. *Korean Peninsula Developments and U.S.–Japan–South Korea Relations,* Volume 1. Washington, D.C.: The Center for Strategic and International Studies. 1993.

Lesson 1

HISTORICAL LEGACIES

THE JAPANESE COLONIZATION OF KOREA

Organizing Questions

- What are some historical legacies between Japan and Korea, and how do they influence the relationships and policies between these countries?
- What are some ways historians examine documents?

Introduction

Lesson 1 is designed to provide students with the background information necessary to understand the historical context both prior to and during the Japanese colonization of Korea. The lesson is also designed to provide students with multiple perspectives about the Japanese colonization of Korea. Using Japanese, Korean, and U.S. primary source materials, students will analyze various perspectives related to Korea's fight for independence, the United States' response to the Japanese domination of the Korean Peninsula, and the Japanese impact on Korea's sociocultural and political institutions. Through these activities, students will learn about Japan's historical legacy in Korea, the impact of colonization, the importance of understanding historical interpretation, and the complexity of "working like historians."

Objectives

knowledge

- to gain an awareness of Japan's historical legacy in Korea
- to appreciate the impact of historical events on the future relations and foreign policies between countries
- to learn about significant episodes in history, namely the events surrounding the Japanese occupation of Korea, 1910–1945, from different perspectives
- to learn about some ways historians interpret documents

attitude

- to realize that the actions of both individuals and countries can often be explained by different past experiences
- to consider other possible (plausible) views of a particular event in history

skill

- to comprehend the challenges and dynamics that influence relations and policies between countries and individuals

- to recognize other points of view, and attempt to formulate fair policy accordingly
- to question the objectivity of the media, historical records, and texts

Materials

- Map of the Asia/Pacific Region, overhead transparency
- Historical Map of Korea, 1910, overhead transparency
- Handout #1: Brief History of Korea Leading Up to and During the Japanese Colonization of Korea, 1910–1945, one copy per group of 4 students
- Handout #2: Timeline of Korean History since 1868, one copy per group of 4 students
- Handout #3: How Do Historians Read Documents?, one copy per group of 4 students
- Handout #4: The Japanese Describe Educational Reform in Korea
- Handout #5: Lost Names, one copy per group of 4 students
- Handout #6: Korean School Days Under the Japanese
- Handout #7: Replacing Korean Names With Japanese Names
- Task Sheet, one copy per group of 4 students
- Research Tool #1: Perspectives on the Japanese Colonization of Korea, one copy per group of 4 students
- Perspectives on the Japanese Colonization of Korea, for the teacher
- Research Tool #2: Evaluating Your Work as Historians, one copy per group of 4 students
- Document #1: President Roosevelt Describes U.S. Policy Toward Korea, one copy per group of 4 students
- Document #2: The Korean Declaration of Independence, one copy per group of 4 students
- Document #3: The Japanese Describe the Colonization of Korea, one copy per group of 4 students
- Document #4: Yun Chi-Ho Describes the March 1st Movement, one copy per group of 4 students
- Document #5: *The Japan Times and Mail:* Reports on the March 1st Movement, one copy per group of 4 students
- Document #6: A Korean American Describes the Japanese Colonization of Korea, one copy per group of 4 students

In this lesson, by critically analyzing the different perspectives from which Japanese, Americans, and Koreans view historical events, students will learn to identify some ways in which historical tensions are perpetuated.

Procedure—Activity One

1. Introduce this curriculum unit by informing students that they will be learning about relations and policy issues between Japan and the Korean Peninsula, and between the United States and the Korean Peninsula. Point out that in order to understand the nature of contemporary U.S. and Japanese relations with the Korean Peninsula, it is important to appreciate the history of these relationships. In Lesson 1, the students will learn about Japan's historical legacy with the Korean Peninsula that continues to influence and complicate relations between Japan and the Korean Peninsula. In Lesson 2, the students will learn about the U.S.'s historical legacy with the Korean Peninsula that continues to influence and complicate relations between the United States and the Korean Peninsula. In subsequent lessons, students relate the issues discussed in this lesson to the formation of foreign policy, particularly in the areas of politics, economics, and security.

   Use the overhead transparency, Map of the Asia/Pacific Region, to help students locate the Korean Peninsula. Note the proximity of Japan, China, and Russia as well.

2. As an opening activity, distribute copies of Handout #3, How Do Historians Read Documents?, and Handout #4, The Japanese Describe Educational Reform in Korea, to small groups of 3–4 students. In addition, distribute either Handout #5, Lost Names, or Handout #6, Korean School Days Under the Japanese, to each group. Have students utilize Handout #3, How Do Historians Read Documents, to analyze Handouts #4 and #5 or Handouts #4 and #6. The task for the students is to generate a list of questions they would like to ask as historians in learning more about this topic.

   After students have had sufficient time to generate lists of questions, have students share and debrief these questions. This should help the teacher assess what the students already know about the topic as well as set the context for the rest of the lesson on the Japanese colonization of Korea. Teachers may also want to talk about the ways the names of immigrants to the United States and other countries have sometimes changed, becoming "Americanized," for example. Other name changes come from marriage or adoption and are not always voluntary. Teachers might encourage students to write a journal entry for homework reflecting on how they would feel if their name was arbitrarily changed.

Activity Two

1. To provide students with a general overview of the Japanese colonization of Korea, distribute Handout #1, Brief History of Korea Leading Up to and During the Japanese Colonization of Korea, 1910–1945, and Handout #2, Timeline of Korean History since 1868, to groups of 4 students. Allow students 15 minutes to read through Handout #1, and ask students to fill in the major events on the timeline.

   Utilize the overhead transparency, Historical Map of Korea, 1910, to illustrate the political geography of Korea at this time. Point out that during the Japanese colonization of Korea, all of the Korean names on this map were changed to Japanese names. For example, the province Hwanghae-Do became Kokai; the city Seoul became Keijo. Ask students for examples of names of former European colonies, e.g., Belgian Congo, French Indochina, British Honduras.

2. Following this discussion, explain to students that the purpose of the next part of the lesson is to have them write a textbook passage on the Japanese colonization of Korea for a world history textbook. Distribute one copy of the Task Sheet to the same groups of 4 students. In addition, distribute copies of the Research Tools #1 and #2 and Documents #1–6 to each group. Students should utilize the research tools to analyze the documents that provide different perspectives (U.S., Japanese, and Korean) on the Japanese colonization of Korea, and also to write their textbook passages. All groups should make copies of their textbook passage and prepare to share these with other groups during a following class period.

3. During a following class period, have the small groups regroup and exchange their textbook passages on the Japanese colonization of Korea. Have each group utilize Research Tool #2, Evaluating Your Work as Historians, to evaluate what their classmates have written.

4. Debrief by asking students to discuss the process of working like historians and the difficulties in presenting history in an objective and unbiased way. Generate some discussion about the availability of historical documents and the influence they have in the development of historical understanding and interpretation. Hopefully, through this discussion students will be able to understand the nature of historical analysis and, consequently, how multiple perspectives promote a more sophisticated understanding of the past. Many Koreans and Japanese alive today experienced the Japanese colonization of Korea—not only ordinary citizens but people in government and others involved in current policy between Japan and the Korean Peninsula. Presently, the topic is taught very differently in Japan and in North and South Korea. The historical legacies of the Japanese colonization of Korea continue to have a very significant impact on policy between Japan and the Korean Peninsula.

Assessment

Some questions to consider when assessing students' textbook passages:

- How does the historical account illustrate the importance of analyzing differing perspectives on the same event?
- How well is the information synthesized and interpreted?
- How effectively are the historical documents utilized?

Policy Study References

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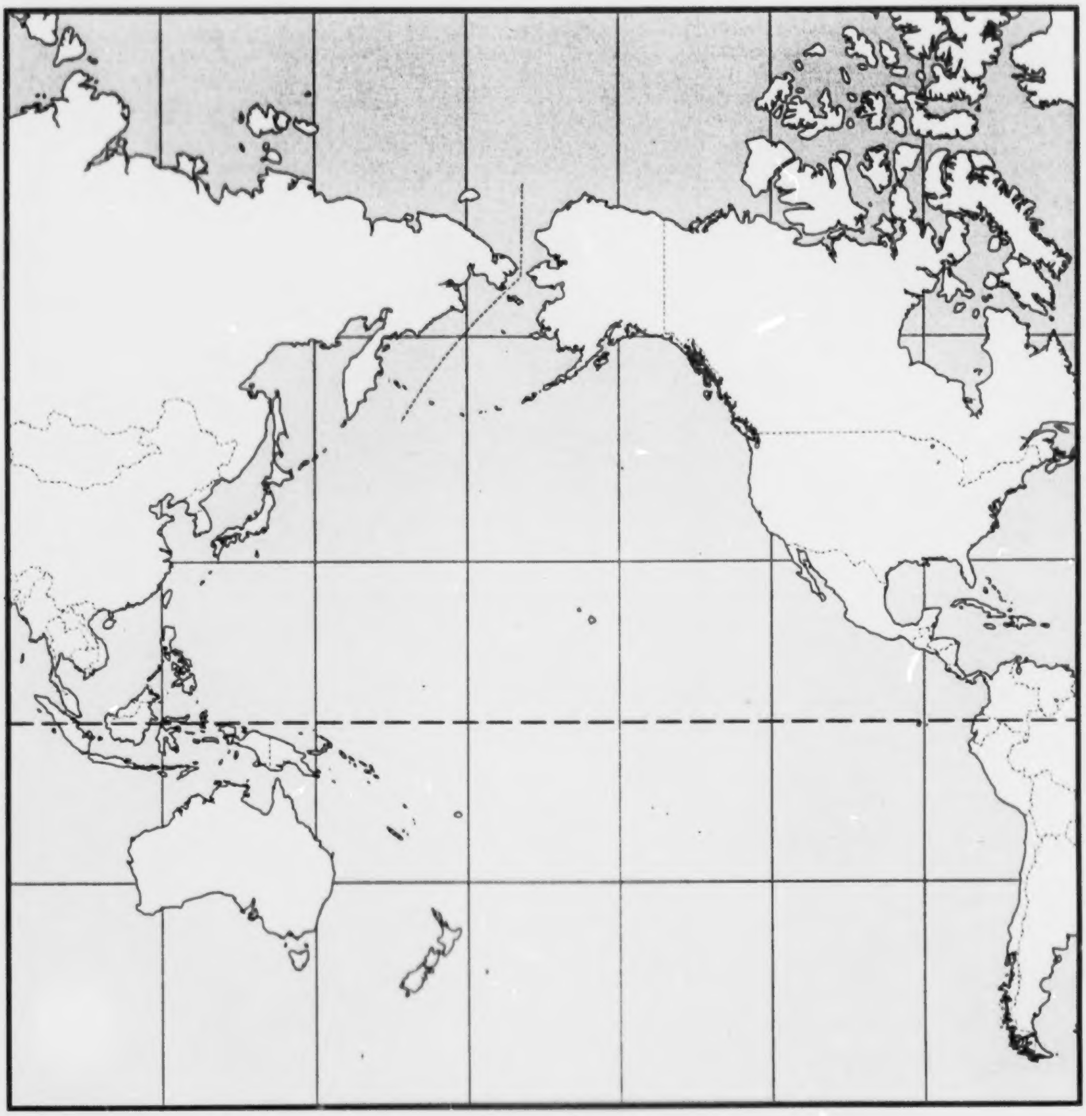
MAP OF THE ASIA/PACIFIC REGION



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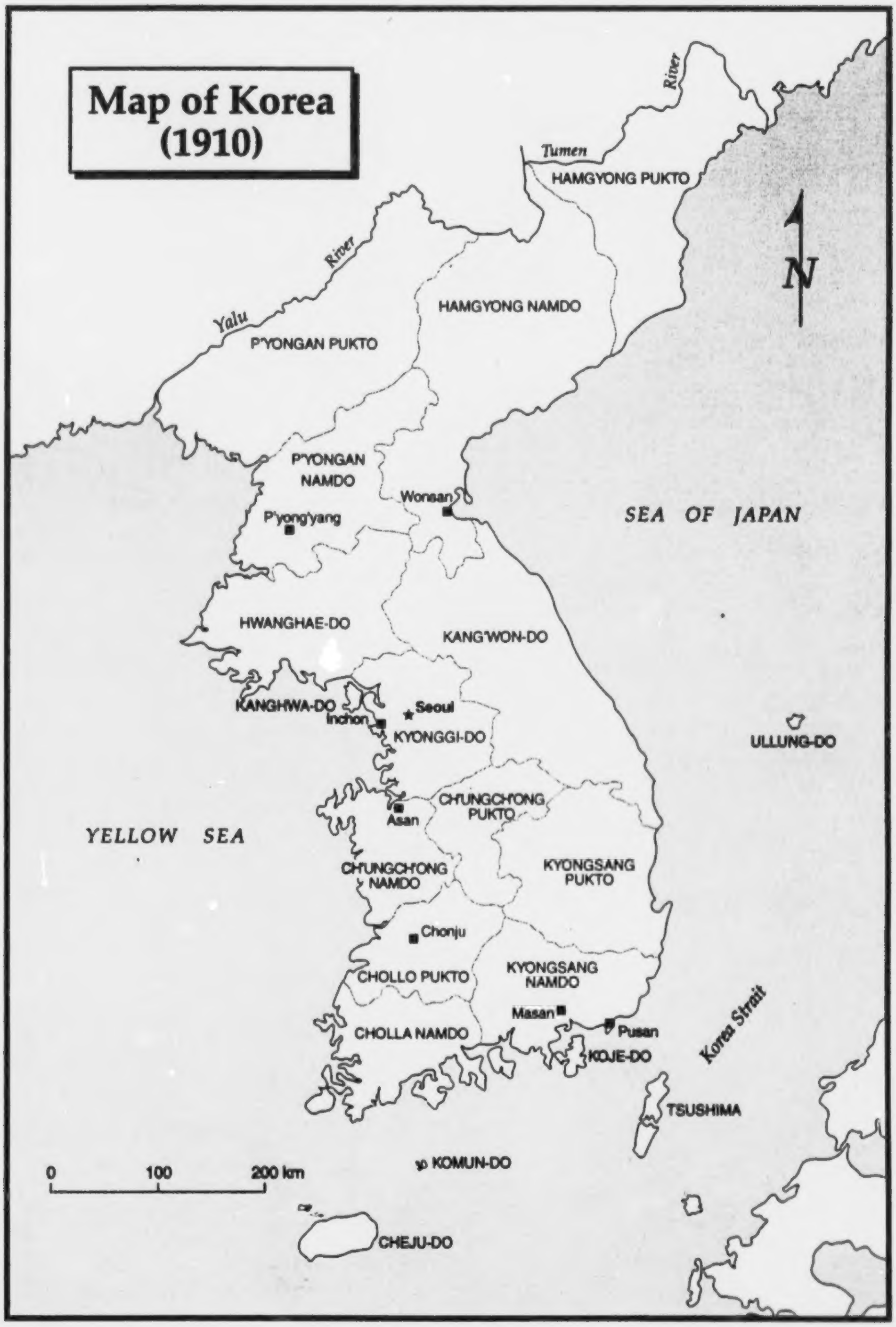
HISTORICAL MAP OF KOREA, 1910


Map of Korea
(1910)
Tumen
River
HAMGYONG PUKTO
N
Yalu
River
HAMGYONG NAMDO
P'YONGAN PUKTO
P'YONGAN
NAMDO
Wonsan
P'yong'yang
SEA OF JAPAN
HWANGHAE-DO
KANG'WON-DO
KANGHWA-DO
Seoul
Inchon
KYONGGI-DO
ULLUNG-DO
CH'UNGCH'ONG
PUKTO
Asan
YELLOW SEA
CH'UNGCH'ONG
NAMDO
KYONGSANG
PUKTO
Chonju
CHOLLO PUKTO
KYONGSANG
NAMDO
Masan
Pusan
CHOLLA NAMDO
KOJE-DO
Korea Strait
TSUSHIMA
0
100
200 km
KOMUN-DO
CHEJU-DO

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

BRIEF HISTORY OF KOREA LEADING UP TO AND DURING THE JAPANESE COLONIZATION OF KOREA, 1910–1945

During the Edo Period (1600–1868) of Japanese history, Korea and Japan subscribed to a policy of national seclusion. During these years, the relationship between Korea and Japan was relatively harmonious. Only minimal diplomatic and commercial contact existed before 1876. In an attempt to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with Korea, Japan opened negotiations at Pusan in 1868. However, the Korean government rejected this attempt. By 1875, the Japanese decided to use force to demand trading relations with Korea, and in 1876 the Koreans and Japanese signed commercial and diplomatic treaties that gave the Japanese access to three Korean ports and extraterritorial rights to Japanese in Korea. Korea also signed similar treaties with other countries such as England, Russia, and the United States. All these treaties recognized Korea's independence. Despite these treaties, Korea's neighbor, China, remained the country with the most influence in Korea until 1894.

In 1894, Japan and China went to war and much of the war's fighting occurred on Korean soil. Prior to this war, Japan's policymakers were divided between those who favored helping Korea modernize so that it could resist Western imperialism and those who wanted to absorb the country into the Japanese empire. Victory in that war increased Japanese influence in Korea. In 1895, Japanese soldiers stormed the royal palace in Seoul, seized King Kojong, and killed Queen Min. The king escaped and gained the protection of Russia. For the time being, this checked Japan's influence in Korea. The rivalry between Japan and Russia eventually broke out in war by 1904. When Japan won the war in 1905, the resulting Treaty of Portsmouth recognized Japan's "paramount political, military, and economic interest in Korea." During the next five years, Korea maintained token "independence" before formal annexation by the Japanese. Despite Korean resistance, Western nations recognized Japan's interest in Korea.

From 1910 to 1945, Japan ruled Korea. The Japanese repressed Korean culture and language. They also crushed any moves for independence, including the nationwide mass demonstrations on March 1, 1919. These demonstrations marked the beginning of Korean government in exile. This government broke into factions, each of which later claimed legitimacy and the right to rule Korea after Japan's defeat in World War II. Two of the most important factions were led by Kim Il Sung, a communist who escaped to Manchuria and eventually Siberia, and Syngman Rhee, a U.S.-educated nationalist. Disputes between these factions eventually led to the Korean War.

handout #1

Vocabulary

annexation—the act of incorporating a country or other territory within the sovereign domain of a state.

colonialism—the control of one nation by "transplanted" people of another nation.

factions—groups formed to seek some goal within a political party or a government.

imperialism—acquisition by a government of other governments or territories, or of economic or cultural power over other nations or territories, often by force. *Colonialism* is a form of imperialism.

nationalist—one holding a strong belief that the interests of a particular nation-state are of primary importance.

handout #2

TIMELINE OF KOREAN HISTORY SINCE 1868

1868	Japan attempted to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with Korea.
1876	
1894	
1895	
1904	
1905	
1910	
1919	
1945	

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handout #3

HOW DO HISTORIANS READ DOCUMENTS?

How do historians read documents? Isn't reading the same for all people no matter what they're reading? Probably not. Some recent research suggests that the reading process is different depending on the material being read and who is doing the reading.

For this lesson you will be taking on the role of historians. When students in school read documents, they are usually reading a textbook and they are usually trying to remember as much information from that textbook as possible. Historians often read a much broader range of material. Sometimes they read books about history, but often they read the materials on which historical interpretation is based—things like speeches, letters, diaries, newspaper articles from the past. When historians read such documents, they are doing much more than trying to remember information. They are actually engaging in "imaginary conversations."

Historians engage in conversations with the author of the document, asking questions like: Why did you write this? How did you get your information? What were you intending to accomplish? Who was your intended audience? How did you want to influence people's thinking? What else was going on in the world at the time? Who disagreed with you? Why? As they read and answer these questions, historians "talk back" to the author. In this process, they decide just how much they actually believe what the author is saying. They judge the author's writing by looking at it from different perspectives, including those of the author, the persons for whom the document was intended, and other persons who might have read it. Rather than seeing documents as setting the record straight, historians view documents as much more slippery and ambiguous.

Think about your own writing. Are you always completely honest? Do you see things from only your point of view? Do you say things in a certain way sometimes to influence how other people will think of you? Historians understand that this is how people operate and they bring this understanding to their reading of documents—all of which are written by human beings just like yourself.

As you read documents, try to have these imaginary conversations with the authors and different audiences. This will help you see that historians don't discover the truth about the past so much as they develop interpretations about what happened in the past, what it means, and why it's important. As you read in this way, think of your textbook as a historical document. What might be the goals and intentions of its authors? How do you judge their interpretations?

handout #4

THE JAPANESE DESCRIBE EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN KOREA

The following excerpt is from a Japanese publication describing the beneficial effects of 25 years of Japanese colonization of Korea.

Education After Amalgamation

On the advent of the new Government in 1910, a proclamation was issued to the people by the Governor-General, Viscount Terauchi, in which he said:

"The object of education is to promote the intellect of young people and enhance their moral character, so that they may become able to govern themselves and their homes. But hitherto many young men of this country have been led by the erroneous method of education pursued, to dislike work and indulge in useless and empty talk. In future, attention should be paid to the removal of this evil as well as to instilling in the minds of young men the detestation of idleness and the love of real work, thrift and diligence."

On the basis of the Imperial Rescript on Education, public education in the country was established on modern lines laying special emphasis upon primary education. Koreans however objected at first to the comparative omission of their time-honored studies of Chinese writing and classics and entertained suspicion on the newly introduced system. Difficulty was encountered in enrolling students, though the tuition and textbooks, and sometimes even lunches, were supplied as means of encouragement. As a result of hard work on the part of the authorities the spirit of the educational regulations triumphed and the people gradually came to appreciate the benefits and to seek modern education in increasing numbers....

In 1922, after a lapse of ten years since the last Ordinance was promulgated, new revised regulations were issued, the essence of which was that they should apply equally to Japanese and Koreans. Yet due to difficulties arising from the difference in language, manners, and customs, the Japanese and Koreans in the elementary and secondary schools are educated separately. In certain circumstances however Korean pupils may be admitted to a public school for Japanese, and similarly Japanese to a school for Koreans, and the former avail themselves of this provision to an increasing extent. But in all other schools as in industrial schools, normal schools, colleges and universities, Japanese and Koreans attend the same courses.

Source: *Thriving Chosen: A Survey of Twenty-five Years of Administration.* Compiled by the Government-General of Chosen (Chosen: Taisho Shashin Kogeisho, October 1935), pp. 9-10. Note: The Japanese referred to Korea as *Chosen*.

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LOST NAMES

Under the Japanese colonization of Korea, Koreans were required to change their Korean names to Japanese names. In this selection, Richard Kim describes what happened when he learned he would have to change his name.

The teacher stands up, looking at a piece of paper in his bony hand. He keeps silent for a long time, looking out the windows....

"Today," he says, without looking at us, holding up the piece of paper in front of him, "I must have your new names. I have the new names of most of you in this class, but the principal tells me that some of you have not yet registered your names. I shall call your old names, and those who are called will be excused from the class immediately, so that they can go home and return with their new names, which have been properly registered with the proper authorities in town. Do you understand what I am saying?"

Without waiting for our reaction, and still without looking at us, he calls out several names. My name is called. "You may be excused," he says, crunching the piece of paper into a ball in his fist. "Report back as soon as you can."

Later, at the police station, Kim reports on the following.

One of the men sitting at one of the tables facing the Japanese policeman cannot speak Japanese and has to have the words interpreted. The man is old; he helps out in the open-air marketplace on market days, doing odd jobs.

The Japanese policeman, dipping a pen in an inkwell, does not lift his face from a large ledger on the table when he says to the Korean detective by his side, "Tell the old man we will pick out a name for him if he can't make up his mind."

The Korean detective picks up a sheet of paper and shows it to the old man, translating the policeman's words.

The old man shakes his head, looking at the paper, which contains a long list of names. "Anything," he mumbles. "It doesn't matter."

The Korean detective does not translate those words. Instead, he puts his finger on one of the names and says, "How about this one, old man?"

The old man says, "It doesn't matter which. No one's going to call me by that name anyway—or by any other name."

"Then, this will be recorded as your new name." The Korean detective tells the policeman the old man's "new" name—a Japanese name.

Next it is time for Kim's family name to be changed.

My father takes out a piece of paper from his vest pocket. He hands it to the Inspector. "I assume," he says, "this is what you want, Inspector. I hope you will be pleased."

The Inspector looks at the paper. "Yes, yes," he says. "Iwamoto....Ah—it is a very fine name, sir. It does justice to your person. It reminds me of your house by the mountain and, also, of your orchard, with all those rocky mountains around it. I will have it registered...."

"Iwamoto... Iwamoto." I mouth the name. Our new name. My new name. "Iwa"—rock. "Moto"—root...base...foundation.

"Rock-Foundation." So this is our "new" surname, our Japanese "family" name....

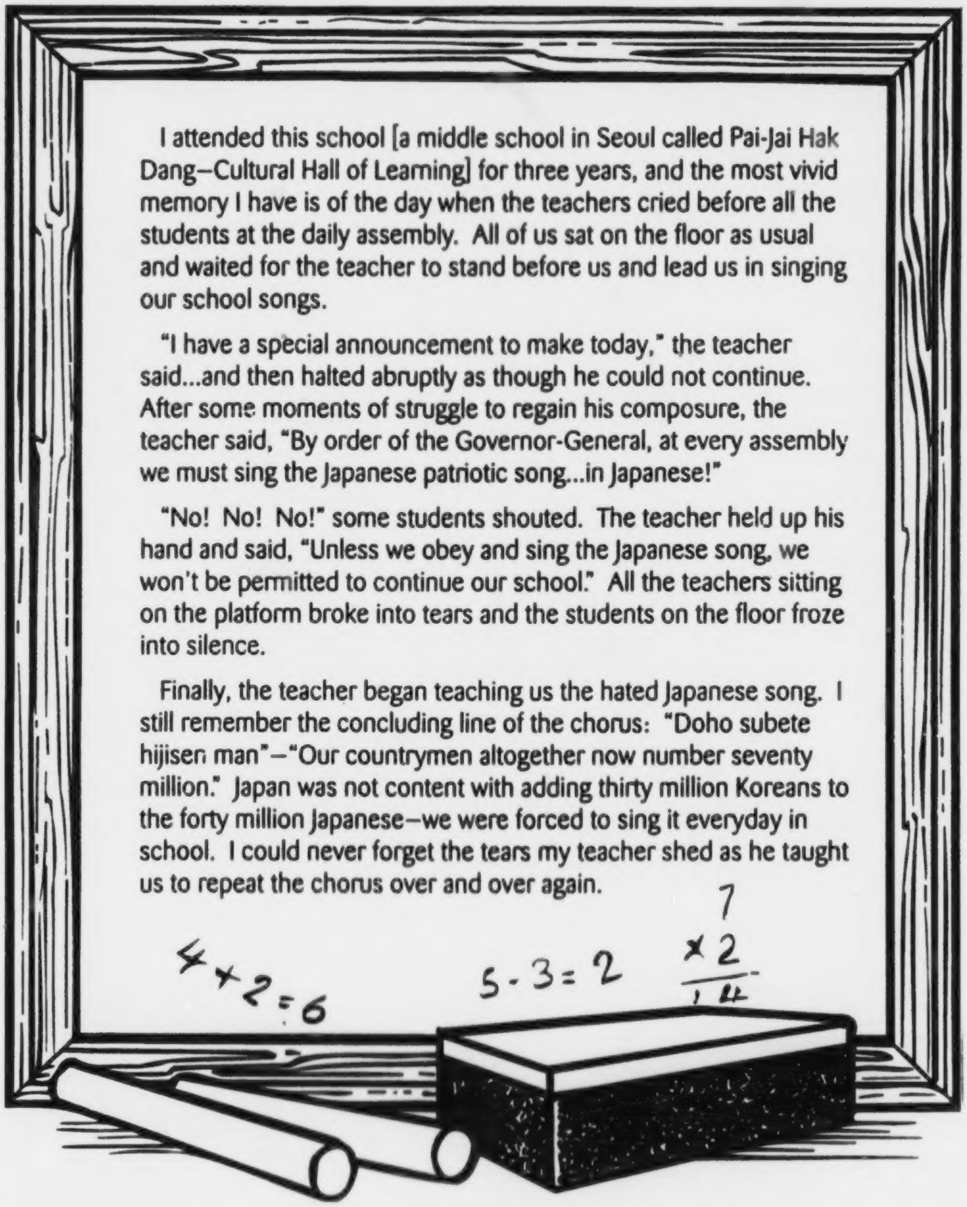
...and I am thinking, "We lost our names; I lost my name; and these people are all going to lose their names, too, when they walk into the police station, into that half-empty large hall, when a 'new' name, a Japanese name, is entered in the big ledger with a pen dipped into a dark blue inkwell.

Source: Richard E. Kim. *Lost Names.* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), p. 99.

handout #6

KOREAN SCHOOL DAYS UNDER THE JAPANESE

In this excerpt, Peter Hyun describes the reaction to one of the Japanese rules for Korean schools during the years of Japan's colonization of Korea.



I attended this school [a middle school in Seoul called Pai-Jai Hak Dang–Cultural Hall of Learning] for three years, and the most vivid memory I have is of the day when the teachers cried before all the students at the daily assembly. All of us sat on the floor as usual and waited for the teacher to stand before us and lead us in singing our school songs.

"I have a special announcement to make today," the teacher said...and then halted abruptly as though he could not continue. After some moments of struggle to regain his composure, the teacher said, "By order of the Governor-General, at every assembly we must sing the Japanese patriotic song...in Japanese!"

"No! No! No!" some students shouted. The teacher held up his hand and said, "Unless we obey and sing the Japanese song, we won't be permitted to continue our school." All the teachers sitting on the platform broke into tears and the students on the floor froze into silence.

Finally, the teacher began teaching us the hated Japanese song. I still remember the concluding line of the chorus: "Doho subete hijisen man"–"Our countrymen altogether now number seventy million." Japan was not content with adding thirty million Koreans to the forty million Japanese–we were forced to sing it everyday in school. I could never forget the tears my teacher shed as he taught us to repeat the chorus over and over again.

Source: Peter Hyun. *Man Sei!* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), p. 29.

REPLACING KOREAN NAMES WITH JAPANESE NAMES

Yun Chi-Ho served in the Korean government. He kept a diary for over 40 years. In this entry, he offers his opinion of Japan's policy of changing Korean names into Japanese names.

January 4th, 1940 *Thursday*. Pale sun. Chilly.

Seoul home. To adopt the Japanese form of surnames or to keep the Korean names unchanged is a question that worries Koreans—especially of the high Yang Ban class. General Minami officially declared that he has no idea of forcing Koreans to adopt the Japanese form. The trouble is that in the same statement he said things that unmistakably intimated that he would be gratified if Koreans did adopt the Japanese names. This mania for forcing everything in Korea to be conformed to the corresponding things in Japan, seems to be very unnecessary and unwise policy. Variety is the spice of life. A great Empire which Japan aspires to be must necessarily be composed of many races. To compel them to be exactly alike in everything is an impossible and foolish policy.

Source: Yun Chi-Ho. *Yun Chi-Ho's Diary,* volume 11 (Seoul, Korea: National History Compilation Committee, 1989), p. 251.

TASK

Japan occupied Korea from 1910 until 1945. Your task is to write a textbook passage on the Japanese Colonization of Korea, 1910–1945. Working with Research Tools #1 and #2, "Perspectives on the Japanese Colonization of Korea" and "Evaluating Your Work as Historians," your group will be working as historians to write the textbook passage based on Handout #1, "Brief History of Korea Leading Up to and During the Japanese Colonization of Korea," and the following historical documents:

- President Roosevelt Describes U.S. Policy Toward Korea (U.S. perspective)
- The Korean Declaration of Independence (Korean perspective)
- The Japanese Describe the Colonization of Korea (Japanese perspective)
- Yun Chi-Ho Describes the March 1st Movement (Korean perspective)
- *The Japan Times and Mail*: Reports on the March 1st Movement (Japanese perspectives)
- A Korean American Describes the Japanese Colonization of Korea (Korean-American perspective)

While analyzing these documents, remember what you learned from "How Do Historians Read Documents?" Your textbook passage should be no longer than a page. After you have written it, make copies for other groups in your class. Other groups in your class and/or your teacher will be evaluating your textbook passage based on the Research Tool #2, "Evaluating Your Work as Historians."

research tool #1

PERSPECTIVES ON THE JAPANESE COLONIZATION OF KOREA

Complete the chart below as you read through your assigned document and as you gain information from other group members about the Japanese colonization of Korea. You may also include information from outside resources such as your textbook or previous history lessons.

Perspective	Beliefs and Actions about Colonization	Beliefs and Actions about Korea	Beliefs and Actions about Japan
Korea			
Japan			
United States			

PERSPECTIVES ON THE JAPANESE COLONIZATION OF KOREA

Complete the chart below as you read through your assigned document and as you gain information from other group members about the Japanese colonization of Korea. You may also include information from outside resources such as your textbook or previous history lessons.

Perspective	Beliefs and Actions about Colonization	Beliefs and Actions about Korea	Beliefs and Actions about Japan
Korea	Korea is a proud and independent nation that should not be colonized.	Koreans resisted attempts to make them part of Japan (for example, the March 1st rebellion). Koreans were also forced to submit to Japanese rule.	The Japanese have no right to change or destroy Korean culture. The Japanese should allow Korea to be independent. The Japanese have used violence to suppress Koreans.
Japan	Japan is as entitled to an empire as any other nation. Japan must make Korea "Japanese" by changing Korean names, culture, and language.	Japan has brought tremendous modernization and prosperity to Korea. Japanese colonization has been to Korea's benefit. Korea is inferior to Japan. Japan has acted appropriately toward Koreans.	Japan has acted on behalf of Korea's interests.
United States	The people of a nation are responsible for resisting domination by people from another nation. The United States has no responsibility for people who do not resist others' domination. The United States refused to act on Korea's behalf.	The Korean people did not do enough to resist the domination of other nations, including Russia and Japan.	Japan should not be challenged on its occupation of Korea.

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research tool #2

EVALUATING YOUR WORK AS HISTORIANS

The following chart is designed to help you evaluate your work as historians writing about the Japanese colonization of Korea for a world history textbook. Use these guidelines to determine what work you have completed satisfactorily and what work still needs to be done.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION	PUBLICATION STATUS		
	Ready for Publication	Publishable with Revisions	Not Acceptable for Publication
Quality of historical understanding	Connection between cause and effect is clearly explained.	Connection between cause and effect is implied.	Connection between cause and effect is ignored.
	Narrative describes significance of events.	Narrative implies significance of events.	Narrative does not describe significance.
	No unsubstantiated claims are made.	Connection between claims and supporting evidence is not clear.	Claims are made without evidence.
	Narrative pays attention to multiple perspectives in understanding history.	Narrative includes more than one perspective but does not consistently look at history from different perspectives.	Narrative takes only one perspective to explain history.
Factual accuracy	Events are told in proper sequence.	Chronology is used to organize story, but some events are out of sequence.	Events are described without respect for chronology.
	Names, places, and dates match those in the documents.	Most names, places, and dates match those in the documents.	Names, places, and dates do not match those in the documents.
Quality of writing	Use of language is clear and lively. Use of quotations conveys feelings and emotions of times.	Language is clear, but fails to convey the feelings and emotions of the times.	Language is awkward, imprecise, or dull. No sense of emotion or feeling is conveyed.
	Spelling, punctuation, and grammar conform to rules for standard written English.	Writing contains only a few errors in spelling, punctuation, and grammar.	Spelling, punctuation, and grammar do not conform to rules for standard written English.

document #1

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT DESCRIBES U.S. POLICY TOWARD KOREA

Writing after his term of office was over,
President Theodore Roosevelt explained U.S. policy
toward Korea in a letter to an unknown correspondent.

Oyster Bay, December 20, 1915

My dear Sir:

I appreciate your kind and friendly letter. It is one of several such that has come. One of the clippings sent me is from a New York paper and recites that in 1905 the United States had a written treaty with the Kingdom of Korea by which this country had bound itself, in case the integrity of Korea was threatened by a third power, to use our good offices to protest force and that I, as President of the United States, flatly refused to carry out the treaty obligations or to interfere. The other clipping is from another New York paper and is in the shape of a letter from a person in Springfield, Massachusetts. The attack made by this Massachusetts man is on the Secretary of State, who, he says, had written notice of the proposed attack on the Korean Government by Japan but who refused to receive it for forty-eight hours. He states that I had knowledge of its contents during those forty-eight hours. This last statement is a gratuitous falsehood he doubtless knew to be a falsehood when he wrote it. There were two Secretaries of State during 1905, John Hay being succeeded by Elihu Root. I do not know against which of them the individual in question is making his attack, but I am absolutely certain that both of them in the matter acted in accordance with the highest standard of propriety and international morality and that the attack is as false as regards them as it is as regards me.

The facts are perfectly simple. Unless, under such a treaty, the nation which is supposed to be protected, itself acts so as to do its part in the effort to secure its own rights and fulfill its own duties, the obligation of any other neutral power toward it of course immediately lapses. As regards Korea the obligation had lapsed long before I became President. It had submitted to dominion by Russia long prior to that time. It had been unable and unwilling so much as to fire a shot in its own defense or in any other way to defend itself against any of the aggressions made upon it. It was of course utterly impossible under such circumstances, where it was de facto a vassal state of one power, to do anything for it in the face of the other power. All obligation to fulfill the treaty had disappeared long before I became President and every vestige of sovereignty on its part had disappeared long before the act which extinguished its final nominal sovereignty. The paper in question and the individual in question must know that this is the case. The facts about Korea and especially the fact that she had for years ceased to be an independent nation and that all obligation to her as such had long ceased were so evident to everyone at this time that no human being who was both intelligent and honest even suggested action, so far as I know. Certainly no such suggestion ever came to me from any responsible source, and my whole knowledge of the matter was gained from an incidental recommendation or report from the State Department after the whole incident was closed.

The paper in question and the individual in question compare this case of Korea with the case of Belgium. So far as the duty of the United States is concerned, the difference is so clear that it is quite impossible for any man who is both honest and intelligent to make such a comparison. It would be exact only if Belgium had submitted to Germany without making any resistance, had practically become a feudatory state of the German Empire and then several years later, if France had gone to war with Germany, had protested against a violation of its neutrality by France.

In addition to these facts, which from the ethical standpoint not only justified but required that the United States should act as it did in the matter of Korea, there is the further fact that unless a nation stands up for its own rights, no other nation can possibly help it. I have dwelt much upon our obligation to Belgium and the violation of Belgium's neutrality. I have said nothing about the violation of Luxembourg's neutrality. The difference is that Belgium fought hard to fulfill her obligations to the states that had guaranteed her neutrality and thereby did her part. Luxembourg, like Korea, submitted without any resistance. In any such case it is impossible for outsiders to help those who do not try to help themselves. I am very sorry for Luxembourg, but I have not advocated action to help her.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Theodore Roosevelt

Source: *Theodore Roosevelt Papers*. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969).

document #2

THE KOREAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The following are excerpts from the Korean Declaration of Independence.

We here declare that our Korea is an independent nation and that the Korean people are a self-governing people. We hereby declare this to all nations of the world, affirm the great principle of racial equality, and do solemnly bestow on our descendants for 10,000 generations the right to racial and national independence in perpetuity.

We declare it on the authority of a history of 5,000 years. We proclaim it on the loyalty and sincerity of 20 million people. We affirm it on behalf of the free development, eternal and unchanging, of our nation and race. We propose it in conformity with the great tide of world reconstruction, based on an expression of human conscience. It is the clear mandate of Heaven, the trend of the times, the just action of the right of all humanity to coexist with their brothers. For any living being on earth, this right cannot be impaired or abrogated.

Source: Lee Ki-baek, "The March First Movement," in Marshall R. Pihl, ed. *Listening to Korea.* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), pp. 12-13.

document #3

THE JAPANESE DESCRIBE THE COLONIZATION OF KOREA

In this excerpt from Thriving Chosen, *the Japanese Vice Governor-General extols the benefits of 25 years of Japanese colonization of Korea. The Japanese referred to Korea as* Chosen.

There can be none of those who knew Chosen at the time of the amalgamation of Japan and Korea who are not struck by the tremendous transformation that has created the Chosen of today. It is said that historical events show a change every decade and a convulsion every century, and it is notable that these conditions were highly accentuated after the Great War in Europe which destroyed the old systems of the world. Thus no one can conceal from himself the great change that has taken place in this corner of the Far East, in sharing the advancing prosperity of the mother country, Japan. Led by the wide vision of Their successive Imperial Majesties, headed by the great Emperor Meiji, supported by the splendid cooperation of the progressive administrators, ever since the wise Prince Ito, and aided by private citizens both in Japan and in Chosen, the peninsula has expanded to its present condition, assisted by the historical developments in the Far East, and each stage has left its own particular mark in the process.

In the past quarter century the population has increased over fifty percent (seven million increase), eloquent testimony of the prosperity of the race. Production has risen six times in amount; import and export trade, seventeen times; bank deposits, twenty times. Local Credit Association deposits have actually attained to 2000 times. Railway Extension has jumped to four times the mileage, and the spiritual concord of the two peoples, Japanese and Korean, who had sprung from the same origin, has so deepened that their national consciousness is now united into one. Thus the great objective of the Administration of Chosen has been accomplished within these twenty-five years. In retrospect now, we recognize with deep feeling a debt of great gratitude to our predecessors and pray for continued good fortune in the future. Chosen, which was so far behind in emerging from the darkness of the middle age, still retained in her social structure disturbingly large remnants of the previous centuries, but a new life has already developed breaking out of the old shell. The heart of this young life has now reached adult age and enters its full activity. Reviewing the records of the revival of the agricultural and fishing villages during the past few years, it is evident that work is being done with real seriousness, so that we can visualize Chosen, as a youth of twenty-five years, rising up with strong determination, hope and inspiration for the future.

K. Imaida
Vice Governor-General

Source: *Thriving Chosen: A Survey of Twenty-five Years of Administration.* Compiled by the Government-General of Chosen (Chosen: Taisho Shashin Kogeisho, October 1935), pp. 1-2.

document #4

YUN CHI-HO DESCRIBES THE MARCH 1ST MOVEMENT

Yun Chi-Ho served in the Korean government. He kept a diary for over 40 years. Here he describes the events of the March 1st Movement and his reaction to them.

Note: The bracketed blanks [ ] in the diary are areas that were censored.

March 6th, 1919 *Thursday*. Rain, almost in the a.m.

...[ ] and a Japanese representative of the [ ] called on me this afternoon. They said that the authorities had just given the local papers permission to publish the news of the recent demonstrations and that they wanted to know exactly what I thought about the affair. The necessity of defining my attitude was thus laid on me. Any ambiguity in my statement would at once subject me to the cruel suspicion of the Powers that be, and mislead many a young Korean. I couldn't afford to sit on two horses. So I gave my three reasons for disapproving the movement. (1) The Korean question will have no chance for appearing in the Peace Conference. (2) No nation in Europe or America will run the risk of fighting Japan for Korean independence. (3) When a weak race has to live with a strong one, the best policy for the weak is to win the good will of the strong.

March 7th, 1919 *Friday*. Bright.

...The Japanese papers in the city began to publish the news and facts of the disturbance today. The [ ] has put me in an embarrassing situation by publishing my reasons for not joining the popular uprising. Impossible to please all parties, tho....

The Ex-Emperor of Korea, whose sudden death has proved to be a cue to the great disturbance, used to have one simple word to send any man to prison. That was the word, "Pro-Japanese." The Japanese in Korea has one convenient word to make anybody miserable. That word is: "Anti-Japanese."

March 10th, 1919 *Monday*. Very cold—Bright. 2°C.

...The streets full of crowds. Stores stay closed. Conductors on the tram-cars seem to have quit. The agitators are so incensed against me for my frank statements that they threaten me with violence.

The sight of the school girl patrols being removed from the police station to the detention prison naturally arouses the fiercest sentiment of hatred and anger in the bosoms of the Korean people. The authorities should have let these girls go.

March 28th, 1919 *Friday*. Bright—Chilly.

...Hear that Messrs. [ ] and [ ] have sent a letter to Genl. Hasegawa requesting that the Korean Independence be restored.

The frightful cruelties of the Japanese have turned the missionaries as completely against the Japanese policy as nothing else could have done. The stories of atrocities of the Japanese soldiers, gendarmes, police and of coolies—stabbing, shooting, kicking, clubbing, slashing, hooking old and young men and women literally duplicate the ruthless conducts of the Germans in Belgium....The insulting tortures which heroic girls have suffered and are suffering at the hands of the inquisitors—as stated by some girls who have been released, upset the stomach of the strongest Japanese philo....

March 29th, 1919 *Saturday*. Beautiful—Chilly, 2°C.

1. Japan teaches that patriotism is the highest virtue of men yet she punishes patriotism as the greatest crime in a Korean.

2. "Self-determination" of the races is one of 14 cardinal principles of the Paris Peace Conference, yet France stoutly objects to the self-determination of the Austrian Germans to unite with Germany.

3. Japan kicks with all her might against the racial discrimination of the Americans, yet she practices racial discrimination against the Koreans in everything. After all is said and done might is right.

March 31st, 1919 *Monday*. Pale and chilly.

...Just a full month has passed since the first demonstration took place in Seoul. No sight of the agitation subsiding. Whatever else these demonstrations may or may not mean, they certainly prove that the anti-Japanese sentiment is deep and wide, and that Japan has not only failed to win the good will of the Koreans, but also lost their confidence so that they dare not trust any promise she may make.

May 22nd, 1919 *Thursday*. Beautiful.

...The official summary of the recent disturbances. 1. Origin: The Korean students in Tokyo petitioned in Feb. the Diet session for Kor. independence. 2. Principal movers—the leaders of the Chun Do Kyo and of the Christian Church. 3. Duration of the agitation 58 days. 4. Localities where disturbance occurred 579 places. 5. In 310 places serious crowds. 6. Riotous acts committed 113 places. 7. Result in death and injury 111 places. 8. Rioters dead 399; injured 838. 9. Police dead 8; injured 106. 10. [ ] attacked 47—police offices attacked 45—Post office and schools 24. No mention is made of the hundreds of Korean houses burnt by the officers of law.

Source: Yun Chi-Ho. *Yun Chi-Ho's Diary*, volume 7 (Seoul, Korea: National History Compilation Committee, 1986), pp. 264-312.

document #5

The Japan Times and Mail:
REPORTS ON THE MARCH 1ST MOVEMENT

Tuesday, March 4, 1919

Riots Among Korean Students

Tokuju Palace Invaded
But Demonstrators Expelled by Police

A local dispatch to the Jiji and other Japanese papers says that on Saturday afternoon, the 1st instant, at about 3:30, upward of two hundred Koreans, mostly students, from the various schools in Chosen, assembled in front of the Tokuju Palace, where the son and grandson of the deceased Prince are now staying, and where preparations for the funeral were in progress. Finding that the main entrance to the Tokuju Palace was guarded by only a few Japanese police, the young Koreans broke into the Palace Compound singing some Korean songs at the top of their voice. The Funeral Commissioners, both Koreans and Japanese, asked the intruders to withdraw and not to resort to any violence in view of the State Funeral on the 3rd instant. Meanwhile a strong police force arrived on the scene, and drove the intruders out of the Palace compound. The latter then wended their way to the United States consulate, where they were dispersed by the police, who arrested several of the ringleaders. By this time the demonstrators had increased in numbers and various wild rumours were circulated. Some Koreans went so far as to throw stones into the Compound of the Palace.

TOKYO STUDENTS RESPONSIBLE

The latest telegraphic information from Seoul indicates that among the demonstrators were some Korean students who recently started a demonstration in Tokyo for the restoration to Korea of her independence, and who on arrival in the peninsula distributed circulars among the Koreans urging them to create disturbances.

On Saturday evening, General Hasegawa, Governor-General of Chosen, issued the following proclamation to the Koreans:

"In view of the State funeral of the late Grand Prince Yi on the 3rd instant all classes of Koreans should keep quiet, and express their sorrow at the sad event. Nevertheless, various sensational rumours are being circulated tending to disturb and excite the public mind at this juncture. Every peaceful citizen should refrain from either starting a demonstration or joining in any such movement. Those who dare to disturb the peace and order by creating disturbances will be severely punished under the law."

At noon Sunday another demonstration was started in front of the Tokuju Palace by some thirty Koreans, who circulated printed matter among the Koreans in the streets. The number of demonstrators reached several thousand in the afternoon, but they were dispersed by the police and gendarmerie.

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document #5

A dispatch to the "Hochi" says on Saturday afternoon a party of troops from the Japanese garrison at Ryusan was hurriedly dispatched to Seoul to suppress the disturbances.

Wednesday, March 5, 1919

The Recent Riots in Chosen

The disturbance in Seoul on Saturday originated in the instigation of one Son Kei-ki, who is engaged in the propagation of a cult known as "Tendo-kyo" and has a large following of some 1,500,000 ignorant Koreans throughout Chosen. He was arrested with several of his followers and are now undergoing examination at the hand of the police. Some excitement was still in evidence on Sunday but the situation was peaceful on Monday, the day of the state funeral of the late Grand Prince Yi. The students and other Koreans who joined the demonstration of the previous day were permitted to witness or attend the funeral on that day.

SERIOUS DISTURBANCES IN THE PROVINCES

In Pyongyang and Gisen serious disturbances occurred resulting in a collision between the mobs and the police officials. Troops were detailed for the suppression of the mob in Pyongyang, where the mob made a raid on the railway station displaying the former national flag of Korea, and in an encounter with the police officials who endeavored to pacify the mob, several were wounded in the conflict. A mob of over 10,000 enveloped the railway station and threw stones at the building and the police officials, wounding several of them.

Among the mob a number of girl students were in evidence and participated in the rioting. Similar mob risings also occurred at Koshu, Shogen, Chinnampo, Taiden, Wonsan, and other places on the same day. Besides 33 ringleaders or instigators who were arrested in Seoul on Saturday altogether 166 Koreans were also arrested in Seoul the same day on the ground of having incited the mob rising....

Saturday, March 8, 1919

Alarming Situation in Korea

Mob Riots All Over the Peninsula

Police and Gendarmerie Attacked and Killed in Many Places—Korean Students, Including Girls, Especially Active—Over 400 Arrests in Seoul

The disturbances in Korea are now becoming more serious every day and affect almost every district throughout the peninsula. The detailed accounts are not known as the authorities are keeping them strictly secret but the true situation may be far more serious than it is thought. It is reported that at some places armed rioters attacked the Gendarmerie stations and a number of Koreans were shot.

document #5

HASEGAWA ISSUES PROCLAMATION

A Seoul dispatch dated the 6th states that in view of the disorderly situation General Hasegawa, Governor-General of Korea, has issued another official notice saying that Koreans should not be misled by rumors which are purposely spread by some people.

OVER 400 STUDENTS ARRESTED

A dispatch from Seoul to the "Asahi" dated the 6th reports that all middle schools in Seoul for Korean boys and girls are not attended, even by one student.

They assemble at Pagoda Park every day inducing others to join the demonstration. More than 400 students including girl-students have been arrested since the 1st.

The disturbances started by Korean students and the followers of the "Tendo-kyo" cult at the instigation of Son Kei-ki last Saturday at Seoul and other places, which were seemingly suppressed by the police, were restarted on Wednesday. When the Princes and others who attended the interment ceremony at the Kinkoku mausoleum returned in procession to Seoul on Wednesday evening and the procession was passing through the Todaimon (Eastern Great Gate), a body of about 300 Korean students appeared on the scene and joined the procession at the rear, with girl students and female nurses shouting "mansei," and were going to enter within the city walls. They were however checked by the police and gendarmes, and finally dispersed. The students and female nurses all wore on their left arms red cloth. Over hundred arrests were made, nearly half of them being students of the Christian mission schools and female nurses....

In Seoul, on Monday afternoon, 35 girl students of the Houston Girls School, a mission school, organized a procession and held a demonstration, parading through the streets singing hymns. They disobeyed the order of the police to disperse and went on marching through the city and were joined by a mob numbering thousands. By the efforts of the police they were finally dispersed toward evening.

Dispatches from various quarters report that a mob of about 800 attacked the police station in Hoandju, Hoanghaido, Last Sunday. The mob was dispersed and several leaders were arrested by the police....

Sunday, March 9, 1919

Prominent Korean Regrets Riots

Director of Young Men's Society in Seoul Thinks Demonstrations Useless and Harmful

A high authority in the War Office is represented as having stated in connection with the disturbances in Chosen:

According to an official report from Lieut.-General Kojima, gendarmerie commander of Chosen, the disturbances in Chosen seem to be gradually subsiding. The report that the Japanese troops fired upon the mob is a pure canard, only several gendarmes fired in self-defense. No troops have been detailed in connection with the disturbances, except at Pyongyang where about one-fourth of the 77th infantry regiment has been called out for the suppression of the mob rising within the city limits of Pyongyang. The mob rising is backed by the missionaries of a certain country (America, as usual, being meant apparently—Editor) and a large number of the students of the Christian mission schools are participating in the rising.

© SPICE

document #5

A dispatch from Pyongyang says that all schools there have closed owing to non-attendance of the students. An economic panic has occurred and banks have suspended business.

Mr. In Chi-ko, director of the Seoul Young Men's Association, who has been suspected of some connection with the disturbance, is quoted as stating that he was asked to support the movement by some Korean students but refused because he did not think that the object stated in their manifesto could be approved by the peace conference. Moreover there is no reason why the Koreans, who did not participate in the war nor sustain any damage through the war, could claim self-determination. Even granting that the Koreans could attain their object at the peace conference, Chosen of the present day could by no means exist as an independent state, and can not find any other country on which to rely for her existence permanently. Mr. In expressed himself as greatly regretful about the outbreak of the recent disturbances which he said were detrimental to the interests of Chosen.

A dispatch from Seoul states that 82 Korean schools in Seoul with 11,000 students and nearly all the other schools in the peninsula are now closed and there is no news as to when they will be reopened.

document #6

A KOREAN AMERICAN DESCRIBES THE JAPANESE COLONIZATION OF KOREA

Mary Paik Lee was born in 1900 and emigrated to the United States when she was five years old. Mrs. Lee was one of about 7,000 immigrants who moved to Hawaii between 1902 and 1905. Her family left Korea in 1905 when Japanese soldiers came to take over their house.

So for the first time, we learned about the tragic events that had taken place since we had left in 1905. After Japan took possession of Korea, the Korean people were treated like second-class citizens. They were not allowed to possess any kind of weapon to protect themselves; they could have only one kitchen knife to a family. They were deprived of all their property and had no rights under the new Japanese laws. Names of towns, streets, and persons were changed to Japanese; the teachers in all the schools had to speak Japanese and teach from Japanese textbooks. All Korean books and Korean flags were destroyed. It was the complete humiliation of an entire nation. Since all letters leaving Korea were censored, the tragedy was unknown to the rest of the world. But there were letters from people who had escaped to China or elsewhere. We could not do anything to help our loved ones; we had only the agony of hoping and praying. Life was just one crisis after another.

Source: Mary Paik Lee, ed. *Quiet Odyssey* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), p. 42.

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Lesson 2

HISTORICAL LEGACIES

THE KOREAN WAR: PERSPECTIVES FROM LEADERS

Organizing Questions

- What are some historical legacies between the United States and the Korean Peninsula, and how do they influence the relationships and policies between these countries?
- What are some ways historians examine documents?

Introduction

The activities of this lesson are designed to provide students with the background information necessary to understand the historical context both prior to and during the Korean War. The first activity is designed to give students an understanding of the contextual setting of the Korean War. By helping students grasp what was going on during this transitional period from the aftermath of World War II to the early stages of the Cold War, students will be better able to understand the complexity of decisions made during the conflict.

The second activity is designed to afford students the opportunity to understand the complexity of the Korean War. By examining the writings and speeches of the diplomatic leaders involved in the Korean War and engaging in an International Peace Conference, students will gain insight into the pivotal role this war played in the development of the different countries' foreign policy for over four decades hence. Through these activities, students will develop an understanding of the contextual importance of the Korean War, i.e., as the first major international crisis since World War II that could have resulted in the deployment of nuclear weapons. By providing a brief "snapshot" of the historical setting of the different countries circa 1950, students will themselves grapple with the dilemmas faced by the world leaders.

Objectives

knowledge

- to gain an awareness of the U.S.'s historical legacy in Korea
- to appreciate the impact of historical events on the future relations and foreign policies between countries
- to learn about significant episodes in history, namely the events surrounding the Korean War, 1950–1953, from different points of view
- to learn about some ways historians interpret documents

attitude

- to realize that the actions of both individuals and countries can often be explained by different past experiences
- to consider other possible (plausible) views of a particular event in history

skill

- to comprehend the challenges and dynamics that influence relations and policies between countries and individuals
- to recognize other points of view, and attempt to formulate fair policy accordingly
- to question the objectivity of the media, historical records, and texts

Materials

- Handout #1: Korean War Background, one copy per group
- Handout #2: Discussion Questions, one copy per group
- Handout #3: Cartoons from *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, 1950–1952, one per student

Packet #1, United States, one copy of the following per group:

- Biographical Information on Harry S. Truman
- President Harry Truman's News Conference of November 30, 1950
- Gallup Poll, Korea, December 12, 1951
- Excerpts from NSC 147 (draft), April 2, 1953, "Analysis of Possible Course of Action in Korea"
- Biographical Information on Henry Cabot Lodge
- Congressional Record—Senate, October 11, 1951

Packet #2, North Korea, one copy of the following per group:

- Biographical Information on Kim Il Sung
- Excerpt from Kim Il Sung, "For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy," June 30, 1950
- Excerpt from Premier Kim Il Sung, Interviewed by Finnish Correspondent, November 28, 1951
- Excerpt of Speech by Kim Il Sung at the Meeting at Pyongyang City, August 1952

Packet #3, South Korea, one copy of the following per group:

- Biographical Information on Syngman Rhee
- Excerpts from Syngman Rhee, *Korea Flaming High*, 1954–55

- Excerpt of Article for Marvin Stone, International News Service, June 20, 1955
- Writings of Syngman Rhee, "Freedom Through Strength," June 25, 1955

Packet #4, Japan, one copy of the following per group:

- Biographical Information on Shigeru Yoshida
- Excerpt from Shigeru Yoshida, *Japan's Decisive Century: 1867–1967*
- Excerpt from Shigeru Yoshida, *Yoshida Memoirs*

Prior to teaching this lesson, read through Handout #1, Korean War Background, to familiarize yourself with the main events of this war. This lesson is comprised of two parts. On day one, students examine historical documents that represent North Korean, South Korean, Japanese, and U.S. perspectives of the Korean War. On day two, students participate in an International Peace Conference.

Procedure Day 1

1. Begin this activity by informing students that they will be analyzing information that will help provide them with an understanding of the historical context both prior to and during the Korean War. Distribute copies of Handout #1, Korean War Background. This handout provides basic information about the Korean War. Students should pay special attention to the roles of the leaders of the many countries involved in the conflict.
2. Divide students into 4 groups, each group representing one country: United States, North Korea, South Korea, and Japan. Distribute one of the Packets #1–4, and one copy of Handout #2, Discussion Questions, to each group. The suggested number of students per group follow:

Packet #1, United States, 10–12 students

- Biographical Information on Harry S. Truman (2 students)
- President Harry Truman's News Conference of November 30, 1950 (2 students)
- Gallup Poll, Korea, December 12, 1951 (1–2 students)
- Excerpts from NSC 147 (draft), April 2, 1953, "Analysis of Possible Course of Action in Korea" (2 students)
- Biographical Information on Henry Cabot Lodge (1–2 students)
- Congressional Record—Senate, October 11, 1951 (2 students)

Packet #2, North Korea, 8–9 students

- Biographical Information on Kim Il Sung (2 students)

- Excerpt from Kim Il Sung, *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*, June 30, 1950 (2–3 students)
- Excerpt from Premier Kim Il Sung, Interviewed by Finnish Correspondent, November 28, 1951 (2 students)
- Excerpt of Speech by Kim Il Sung at the Meeting at Pyongyang City, August 1952 (2 students)

Packet #3, South Korea, 8 students

- Biographical Information on Syngman Rhee (2 students)
- Excerpts from Syngman Rhee, *Korea Flaming High*, 1954–55 (2 students)
- Excerpt of Article for Marvin Stone, International News Service, June 20, 1955
- Writings of Syngman Rhee, "Freedom Through Strength," June 25, 1955 (2 students)

Packet #4, Japan, 6 students

- Biographical Information on Shigeru Yoshida (2 students)
- Excerpt from Shigeru Yoshida, *Japan's Decisive Century: 1867–1967* (2 students)
- Excerpt from Shigeru Yoshida, *Yoshida Memoirs* (2 students)

3. Inform students that they will be reviewing the biographical information provided on Harry Truman (former U.S. president), Kim Il Sung (former leader of North Korea), Syngman Rhee (former South Korean president), and Shigeru Yoshida (former Japanese prime minister). Explain to the students that they will be acting as historians by examining documents written by some of these people. Students will examine U.S., North Korean, South Korean, and Japanese attitudes about the war and, where possible, about the potential use of the atomic bomb.
4. Questions for students' discussion of the materials are listed on Handout #2, Discussion Questions. In addition, students will be preparing a brief statement/script that will serve as a general position at a peace conference. Students in each group will be responsible for presenting the group's responses at an International Peace Conference.

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Procedure Day 2

1. Have students come together at an International Peace Conference as representatives of the different leaders to discuss the possibilities for resolution of the Korean War and to discuss the potential use of atomic weapons. Students should present their perspectives based on their responses to the discussion questions on Handout #2. Following the four group presentations, ask students if a consensus can be reached for ending the Korean War. As Handout #1, Korean War Background, notes, on July 27, 1953, negotiators agreed to an armistice that divided Korea into two nations, North Korea and South Korea, roughly at the 38th parallel—the prewar dividing line.

2. In the debriefing, explain to students that historians often build their arguments by closely examining primary, secondary, and tertiary sources; language choice; and biases of writers. Historians also need to be aware of their own biases. Point out that language is rarely, if ever, neutral, and the use of words and expressions should be examined for the attitudes behind them. For example, students should think about the implications of the term "free world." What does this imply about the countries not considered a part of the "free world"?

   When students have completed their own examination of the language from their group's documents, hopefully they will have a better understanding of how historians interpret events. Historians, too, closely read the documents they are working with for an understanding of a leader's attitude.

3. Suggested additional questions for discussion:
   - Why are there no women voices in the materials?
   - Why was using atomic weapons to resolve the Korean War considered significant?
   - How did the Cold War influence the Korean War?
   - What do the materials suggest about how different people think about resolving conflict?
   - How different/similar are the attitudes of the different parties involved? Why do you think they would be different/similar?
   - What other means of conflict resolution have you learned about in history?
   - What is the attitude of the United States toward international conflict resolution today? How is it similar and/or different from the attitude during the Korean War?
   - Do you think the United States would ever contemplate using atomic weapons again?

Assessment

Ask students to think about the different ways they have acted as historians in the past few days. Have them think about and discuss the following questions in small groups. Assign one question as a topic for an essay.

If both Lessons 1 and 2 were taught:

- How does the historical evidence of Lesson 1 on the Japanese colonization of Korea and Lesson 2 on the Korean War differ?
- What is missing from each lesson's perspective?

For Lesson 2:

- How does the historical information presented in this lesson compare with information about the Korean War in your history textbooks?
- What kind of history do you usually read about in your textbooks? What is missing from it?
- Discuss the idea of social history. What does it add to one's historical understanding? Why is it important? How does it differ from diplomatic history?

Optional Assessment

Distribute copies of Handout #3, Cartoons from *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, 1950–1952. *Pacific Stars and Stripes* was a U.S. newspaper that reported the events of the Korean War. Cartoons were contributed to the newspaper by officers and enlisted men of all the U.S. armed services and some of the UN forces. Many of the cartoons were compiled into a book, *Out of Line: A Collection of Cartoons from Pacific Stars and Stripes*. The book was published in Tokyo, Japan, in 1952, and the cartoons on Handout #3 were reprinted from this book.

Many of the cartoons, such as the ones illustrated on the handout, focused on the North Korean or Chinese communists. Students are instructed to rewrite or redraw the cartoon from one of the other perspectives presented in this lesson, i.e., North Korean, South Korean, Chinese, or Japanese.

Policy Study References

Gerrit W. Gong, Seizaburo Sato, and Tae Hwan Ok, eds. *Korean Peninsula Developments and U.S.–Japan–South Korea Relations*, Volume 1. Washington, D.C.: The Center for Strategic and International Studies. 1993.

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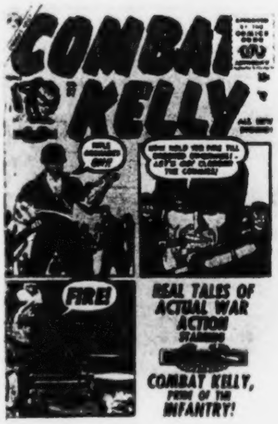
KOREAN WAR BACKGROUND

While reading this handout, pay special attention to the roles of the leaders of the many countries involved in the conflict.

The Korean War, dubbed the "Forgotten War" or the "Hidden War," lasted three years, from 1950 to 1953. This war, however, was the first international crisis which pitted the communist nations against the capitalist nations in a military confrontation clouded by the threat of nuclear weapons.

Japan had occupied Korea from 1910–1945, but in 1945, at the close of World War II, Soviet and American troops occupied the peninsula on either side of the 38th parallel. The Soviet Union and the United States agreed to divide Korea to hasten the surrender of Japanese forces, a political decision greatly resembling the division of Germany. The United States viewed Japan as the principal threat to peace in East Asia, and consequently U.S. forces occupied Japan in an effort to forever quash the Japanese military powers. The Soviet Union laid claim to the northern region, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), and the United States supported the southern region, the Republic of Korea (ROK).

By 1948, the regions formed two separate governments: North Korea, backed by the Soviet Union, was lead by Kim Il Sung; and South Korea, recognized by the United Nations and aligned with the United States, was led by Syngman Rhee. Although the division was meant to be temporary, the competing interests of the two superpowers collided. On June 25, 1950, troops from North Korea crossed the 38th parallel into the Republic of Korea in an attempt to forcefully reunite the nation. Many political leaders in Washington viewed the Soviet Union as the principal instigator and coordinator of the Korean hostilities.


COMBAT KELLY
FIRE!
REAL TALES OF ACTUAL WAR ACTION STARRING
COMBAT KELLY, PRIDE OF THE INFANTRY!

But a third nation also played a pivotal role in the conflict in the divided nation of Korea: the People's Republic of China. China lent its support to the North, increasing U.S. tensions and fears with respect to the overall communist threat. In October 1949, the USSR, which was allied with China, exploded a nuclear weapon. Thus, it was known around the globe that each side positioned for battle on the fields of Korea possessed a weapon capable of destroying the perceived enemy.

When the troops of the Democratic People's Republic moved south across the 38th parallel, President Truman ordered General Douglas MacArthur to rush troops from Japan into Korea. The United States then brought the matter to the attention of the United Nations. The UN approved military intervention against North Korea, and although 16 nations fought under the UN flag, the army was equipped and led by the United States.

Nuclear weapons played an important strategic role in the war. Each side had the technology, yet neither side knew the willingness of the other to use these weapons. The war can be roughly divided into four phases, and at different points during the war, the United States considered the use of nuclear weapons.

The first phase was the initial invasion of the DPRK troops into the South. The People's Republic of China called upon the United States to clarify its objectives. The United

States responded by stationing a fleet off China's southeastern coast and bombing the Manchurian-Korean border.

The second phase targeted the mid-point of Korea's western coast. The forces of the North crumbled into retreat. The People's Republic of China grew concerned about the new role of Japan: Japan had become a staging area for U.S. troops and a supply depot for the U.S. military. Allied Occupation policy had also shifted from an emphasis on reforming the once-aggressive nation into a peaceful land, to one of economic reconstruction of a powerful new ally. Shigeru Yoshida was the Japanese prime minister during this time.

China initiated the third phase by leading a massive offensive when the Republic of Korea (backed by UN forces) regained Seoul.

The fourth phase was characterized by two years of tedious negotiations to achieve an armistice. An agreement was signed on July 27, 1953. Korea was left divided by a demilitarized zone along the 38th parallel. After three years of fighting, approximately four million people, including one million civilians on each side and 900,000 Chinese, were killed; almost 40,000 U.S. soldiers lost their lives.

But the war left more than Korea divided. Tensions between the communist countries, specifically the Soviet Union, and the United States had escalated into a new type of war, called the Cold War. This war relied not on troops, but on nuclear weapon technology. Thus, the nuclear weapon debates which occurred during the Korean War were but the beginning of nuclear defense planning for the superpowers that would greatly affect world policy decisions for the next forty years.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

You will be representing your country at an International Peace Conference. While examining the documents in your packet, consider the following questions. Assign students in your group to take responsibility for presenting the required information for each question at the conference.

- Who is this person?

- Describe the general attitude of this person toward the other countries involved in the Korean War. What words do they use to express their position?

- Choose a few specific words and phrases that seem to make their ideas more powerful.

- What is the attitude this figure has toward the use of atomic weapons in Korea (if any)?

- What does this person believe the use of atomic weapons will or will not accomplish? How do you know?

- Prepare a brief statement/script that will serve as your general position at the peace conference on a following class period.

- Any additional information:

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION ON HARRY S. TRUMAN

born: May 8, 1884, Lamar, Missouri
died: Dec. 26, 1972, Kansas City, Missouri

[Truman was the 33rd president of the United States, serving from 1945-1953.]

The early years

Truman was the son of a mule trader and farmer. He attended school in Independence, Missouri, completing high school in 1901. After fighting in World War I, he entered politics some fifteen years later.

In January 1944, President Franklin D. Roosevelt replaced Vice President Henry A. Wallace with Truman on the victorious 1944 presidential ticket. Truman's vice presidency lasted only 82 days, during which time he met with Roosevelt only twice and had little knowledge of the administration's programs and plans.

Succession to the presidency

Roosevelt died on April 12, 1945. Truman was a month away from his 61st birthday when he took the presidential oath of office. The Pacific war ended officially on September 2, after Truman ordered the dropping of atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. His justification for the bombings was a report from advisors that 500,000 Americans would be lost in an invasion of Japan.

Two years later many Democratic leaders believed Truman could not win election and demanded that he retire. But the 1948 convention nominated him, with Senator Alben W. Barkley as his running mate. All public opinion polls showed that the New York governor Thomas E. Dewey, the Republican nominee, would be an easy winner. Undaunted, Truman carried out a "give 'em hell" campaign, repeatedly denouncing the "Republican do-nothing 80th Congress." In November he upset a complacent Dewey by a wide margin.

In his State of the Union message in 1949, Truman proposed the Fair Deal, a liberal 24-plank domestic program. But despite his efforts, only a single plank was enacted into law—a low-cost public housing measure. He fared much better in foreign affairs, however, where he considered the Soviet Union the principal roadblock to world peace. Truman developed a "containment" policy to restrict Soviet territorial advances and prevent spreading the spheres of communist influence, thus setting the course of U.S. foreign policy for decades to come.

The Cold War prompted strong international involvement to limit the spread of communism. Under the Truman Doctrine, economic and military aid was given to Greece and Turkey in 1947 to reduce communist pressures on their governments; the four-year 17-billion-dollar Marshall Plan of 1948 helped bolster economic recovery in western Europe; and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) pact of 1949, a collective security agreement with non-communist European nations, was initiated. When China came under communist control in 1949, Truman's containment policies were extended to include the giant nation. He also established the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in 1947 and decided to construct the hydrogen bomb in 1950 in order to maintain an arms lead over the Soviets, who had recently exploded an atomic bomb.

Outbreak of the Korean War

In June 1950, North Korea crossed the 38th-parallel boundary and attempted to seize South Korea. Truman sent U.S. forces to Korea under General Douglas MacArthur with UN sanction. Once MacArthur had liberated the South, the administration ordered the capture of North Korea; but MacArthur's advance to the

Yalu River boundary with Manchuria brought hundreds of thousands of Chinese communist troops into the fighting. MacArthur's insistence on attacking China as well forced Truman to fire him.

The unpopularity of the continuing war and the uncovering of unsavory and fraudulent activities by several federal officials made Truman's last two years in office appear chaotic. A further decline of confidence in the government was brought on by the charges of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin that the State Department and other agencies were communist-controlled.

Truman left office in January of 1953. In reflecting upon his presidency, he felt he had "done his damnedest."

packet #1: United States

PRESIDENT HARRY TRUMAN'S NEWS CONFERENCE OF NOVEMBER 30, 1950

Opening Statement: [Reading]

"Recent developments in Korea confront the world with a serious crisis. The Chinese Communist leaders have sent their troops from Manchuria to launch a strong and well-organized attack against the United Nations forces in North Korea. This has been done despite prolonged and earnest efforts to bring home to the Communist leaders of China the plain fact that neither the United Nations nor the United States has any aggressive intentions toward China. Because of the historic friendship between the people of the United States and China, it is particularly shocking to us to think that Chinese are being forced into battle against our troops in the United Nations command.

"The Chinese attack was made in great force, and it still continues. It has resulted in the forced withdrawal of large parts of the United Nations command. The battlefield situation is uncertain at this time. We may suffer reverses as we have suffered them before. But the forces of the United Nations have no intention of abandoning their mission in Korea."

[The following sentence is in the statement as released by the White House but was not read by the President]

"The forces of the United Nations are in Korea to put down an aggression that threatens not only the whole fabric of the United Nations, but all human hopes of peace and justice."

[Reading]

"If the United Nations yields to the forces of aggression, no nation will be safe or secure. If aggression is successful in Korea, we can expect it to spread throughout Asia and Europe to this hemisphere. We are fighting in Korea for our own nation's security and survival.

"We have committed ourselves to the cause of a just and peaceful world order through the United Nations. We stand by that commitment.

"We shall meet the new situation in three ways.

"We shall continue to work in the United Nations for concerted action to halt this aggression in Korea.

"We shall intensify our efforts to help other free nations strengthen their defenses in order to meet the threat of aggression elsewhere.

"We shall rapidly increase our own military strength.

"In the United Nations, the first step is action by the Security Council to halt this aggression. And Ambassador Warren Austin is pressing for such action. We shall exert every effort to help bring the full influence of the United Nations to bear on the situation in Korea.

"Some had hoped that the normal peaceful process of discussion and negotiation, which is provided through the United Nations, could be successfully entered into with the present Chinese Communist delegation at Lake Success. There is, however, no indication that the representatives of Communist China are willing to engage in this process. Instead of discussing the real issues, they have been making violent and wholly false statements of the type which have often been used by the Soviet representatives in an effort to prevent the Security Council from acting.

"We hope that the Chinese people will not continue to be forced or deceived into serving the ends of Russian colonial policy in Asia.

"I am certain that, if the Chinese people now under the control of the Communists were free to speak for themselves, they would denounce this aggression against the United Nations.

"Because this new act of aggression in Korea is only a part of a worldwide pattern of danger to all the free nations of the world, it is more necessary than ever before for us to increase at a very rapid rate the combined military strength of the free nations. It is more necessary than ever that integrated forces in Europe under a supreme command be established at once.

"With respect to our own defense, I shall submit a supplemental request for appropriations needed immediately to increase the size and effectiveness of our Armed Forces. The request will include a substantial amount for the Atomic Energy Commission in addition to large amounts for the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force.

"I expect to confer tomorrow with congressional leaders and ask them to give urgent consideration to these new appropriations.

"This is a time for all our citizens to lay aside differences and unite in firmness and mutual determination to do what is best for our country and the cause of freedom throughout the world. This country is the keystone of the hopes of mankind for peace and justice. We must show that we are guided by a common purpose and a common faith."

All right. Ask any questions now....

Q: Mr. President, will attacks in Manchuria depend on action in the United Nations?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, entirely.

Q: In other words, if the United Nations resolution should authorize General MacArthur to go further than he has, he will—

THE PRESIDENT: We will take whatever steps are necessary to meet the military situation, just as we always have.

Q: Will that include the atomic bomb?

THE PRESIDENT: That includes every weapon that we have.

Q: Mr. President, you said "every weapon that we have." Does that mean that there is active consideration of the use of the atomic bomb?

THE PRESIDENT: There has always been active consideration of its use. I don't want to see it used. It is a terrible weapon, and it should not be used on innocent men, women, and children who have nothing whatever to do with this military aggression. That happens when it is used.

[Later the same day the White House issued the following press release:]

"The President wants to make certain that there is no misinterpretation of his answers to the questions at his press conference today about the use of the atom bomb. Naturally, there has been consideration of this subject since the outbreak of the hostilities in Korea, just as there is consideration of the use of all military weapons whenever our forces are in combat.

"Consideration of the use of any weapon is always implicit in the very possession of that weapon.

"However, it should be emphasized that, by law, only the President can authorize the use of the atom bomb, and no such authorization has been given. If and when such authorization should be given, the military commander in the field would have charge of the tactical delivery of the weapon.

"In brief, the replies to the questions at today's press conference do not represent any change in this situation."

Source: Joseph C. Goulder. *Korea: The Untold Story of the War* (New York, N.Y.: Time Books. 1982).

GALLUP POLL, KOREA, DECEMBER 12, 1951

Interviewing Dates: November 11-16, 1951
Survey #482-K
Question #4b

Do you think the United Nations forces should or should not use the atom bomb on enemy military targets in Korea?

Should	41%
Qualified should	10%
Should not	37%
No opinion	12%

By Education

College

Should	35%
Qualified should	12%
Should not	44%
No opinion	9%

High School

Should	39%
Qualified should	9%
Should not	41%
No opinion	11%

Source: George H. Gallup. *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion,* Volume 2, 1949–1958 (New York: Random House, 1972). Please note that information about the polling group was not included in the source.

EXCERPTS FROM NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL 147 (DRAFT), APRIL 2, 1953, "ANALYSIS OF POSSIBLE COURSE OF ACTION IN KOREA"

USE OF ATOMIC WEAPONS

21. Each of the suggested courses of action (except Course A) permits but does not require deployment of atomic weapons. In each case (except Course A) the use or non-use of such weapons is left open for future determination. This determination should be made only after a thorough study of the military, psychological, and political implications of the use of atomic weapons has been completed, and considered by the National Security Council. A tentative statement of some of the military and political advantages and disadvantages of using atomic weapons follows.

22. Military Advantages:

    a. Would considerably augment capabilities of U.S.-UN forces and somewhat offset the implications of developing a conventional capability to produce equivalent military effects outside Korea.

    b. Would result in curtailment of Communist Chinese capability of continuing present hostilities, of threatening U.S.-UN security in Korea and Japan, or of initiating aggression elsewhere.

    c. Might serve to increase the deterrent effect of our atomic capabilities on the USSR, as pertains to both global and limited war.

    d. Threats to our military position in Korea could be eliminated more effectively, quickly and cheaply than by use of conventional weapons.

23. Military Disadvantages:

    a. Unless the use of atomic weapons results in a decisive military victory, the deterrent effect might be reduced.

    b. Any profitable strategic use requires extension of hostilities outside of Korea.

    c. A precedent would be established, and UN forces and installations are, in general, better targets for atomic weapons than those of the enemy; for example, the ports of Inchon and Pusan, UN airfields and concentrations for amphibious operations.

    d. Use of substantial numbers will reduce the U.S. stockpile and global atomic capabilities.

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24. *Political Advantages:* There would be political advantages in the use of atomic weapons...

    a. If their use in Korea alone was effective in achieving a military victory and thereby a political settlement in Korea, without encountering such enemy reaction as would lead to a spread of hostilities to Communist China.

    b. If their use in Korea and against Communist China was effective in achieving a military victory in Korea and sufficient military results against Communist China to bring about a political settlement in Korea and a general political settlement with Communist China, without encountering such enemy reaction as would lead to a spread of hostilities to the USSR.

    c. If their use in Korea or against Communist China was clearly required in order to avoid a U.S.-UN military disaster in Korea.

25. *Political Disadvantages:* There would be political disadvantages in the use of atomic weapons...

    a. If other free world nations believe that

    (i) the net effectiveness of the use of atomic weapons in Korea would be insufficient for the achievement of our military objectives there.

    (ii) net effectiveness of the use of atomic weapons in Korea and against Communist China would be insufficient to achieve decisive military results.

    (iii) such military results as could be achieved by the use of atomic weapons either in Korea or against Communist China would be insufficient to achieve our political objectives in Korea or a general settlement with Communist China.

    (iv) the use of atomic weapons in Korea would involve the West in general hostilities with Communist China or the use of atomic weapons against Communist China would involve the West in hostilities with the USSR.

    (v) the use of atomic weapons would lead to enemy retaliation in kind against vulnerable U.S.–UN targets.

    (vi) the use of atomic weapons is not required to avert military disaster and if they believe, particularly in the light of current communist peace offers, that our military and political objectives in Korea can be achieved without their use.

b. If such action were taken without consultation with other free world governments and without the concurrence in advance of our major allies.

c. If merely raising the question of the use of atomic weapons in Korea or against Communist China resulted in a dissipation of the support we now have from other free nations for terms of a Korean settlement acceptable to us.[1]

26. Estimated *Communist Reaction*: We believe that if atomic weapons were employed by U.S./UN forces in any of the above alternative courses of action, the Communists would recognize the employment of these weapons as indicative of Western determination to carry the Korean war to a successful conclusion. We are unable to estimate whether this recognition would by itself lead the Communists to make the concessions necessary to reach an armistice. We believe that the Communist reaction would be in large part determined by the extent of damage inflicted.

Source: National Security Council. *Documents of the National Security Council, 1947–1977* (Washington, D.C.: University Publications of America, 1980).

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[1] In fact, Great Britain expressed a great deal of opposition to the use of atomic weapons in Korea.

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION ON HENRY CABOT LODGE

born: July 5, 1902, Nahant, Massachusetts
died: February 27, 1985, Beverly, Massachusetts

[U.S. senator and diplomat who ran unsuccessfully for the vice presidency of the United States in 1960.]

Lodge came from a powerful political family that included six U.S. senators and a governor of Massachusetts. He began his career in politics, after several years as a journalist, with two terms in the Massachusetts legislature (1933–36), followed by service in the U.S. Senate (1937–44, 1947–52). He lost his Senate seat in 1952 to Representative John F. Kennedy. In that year he had been active in promoting the presidential candidacy of Dwight D. Eisenhower, who subsequently appointed Lodge permanent U.S. representative to the United Nations.

In July 1960 he was nominated for the vice presidency on the unsuccessful Republican ticket headed by Richard M. Nixon. Lodge served as U.S. ambassador to South Vietnam (1963-64, 1965-67) and ambassador to Germany (1968-69), and he was chief negotiator at the talks in Paris on peace in Vietnam (1969). He then served as special envoy to the Vatican (1970-77). Lodge's writings include *Cult of Weakness* (1932), *The Storm Has Many Eyes* (1973), and *As It Was* (1976).

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—SENATE, OCTOBER 11, 1951

MR. LODGE: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to be recognized for 3 minutes.

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the senator from Massachusetts may proceed.

MR. LODGE: Mr. President, the development of atomic explosives in sizes small enough to be fired as an artillery shell or delivered by relatively small planes raises at once the question of using them to support our troops in Korea. I believe that if they can be used efficiently and profitably that they should be used, and herewith state my reasons.

First, we are hugely outnumbered by the Communists and their satellites in Korea, and can, therefore, only hope to meet them on an equal footing by superiority in equipment.

Second, the use of atomic weapons for purely military purposes and solely against military personnel could not possibly justify any moral disapproval of us on the grounds that we are using the atom weapon against civilians.

As a matter of fact, a strong argument could actually be made for using the atomic bomb strategically so as to permit a defensive line of atomic craters to be made at some point across the Korean peninsula. Such an operation should only be undertaken after all civilians have had ample time to evacuate. Under such circumstances this might be an action against which no reasonable objection could be made. No possible objection, however, could be made to using the atomic weapon solely for tactical purposes.

In the third place, let us remember that we have already failed to keep faith with our troops in Korea by our failure to mobilize effectively enough to regain the diplomatic initiative and to put firm pressure on the Kremlin to call off the Korean aggression which I believe they could do if they wanted to do so. We must not fail them further. The use of the atomic weapon could result in the saving of many American lives. It could shorten the war, thereby saving not only American lives, but the lives of everyone concerned. It is, therefore, well worthy of favorable consideration and action if its military feasibility proves to be real.

Source: *Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the Congress*, 81st Congress (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951).

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION ON KIM IL SUNG

born: April 15, 1912, Man'gyondae, near P'yongyang, Korea [now in North Korea]
died: July 8, 1994, North Korea

[Communist leader of North Korea from 1948 until his death in 1994. He was the nation's premier from 1948 to 1972 and chairman of its dominant Korean Workers (Communist) Party from 1948. He served as president and head of state of North Korea from 1972 to 1994.]

Kim was the son of parents who fled to Manchuria in 1925 to escape the Japanese rule of Korea. He joined the Korean Communist Party in 1931. He participated in the Korean guerrilla resistance against the Japanese occupation in the 1930s and was noticed by the Soviet military authorities, who sent him to the Soviet Union for military and political training. While there he adopted the name of an earlier legendary Korean guerrilla fighter against the Japanese.

During World War II, Kim led a Korean contingent as a major in the Soviet Red Army, and he returned with other Soviet-trained Koreans to establish a communist provisional government under Soviet auspices in North Korea in 1945. He became the first premier of the newly formed Democratic People's Republic of Korea in 1948. In 1950 Kim launched an invasion of South Korea in an unsuccessful attempt to extend his rule there, and then, with Chinese aid, he repelled a subsequent invasion of North Korea by UN and South Korean forces.

After the end of the Korean War in 1953, Kim crushed the remaining domestic opposition and eliminated his last rivals for power within North Korea's Communist party. He became the country's absolute ruler and set about transforming North Korea into an austere, militaristic, and highly regimented society devoted to the twin goals of industrialization and the reunification of the Korean Peninsula under North Korean leadership. He also instituted an extensive personality cult of himself. He cultivated close ties with both the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, and he remained consistently hostile to South Korea and the United States.

While retaining control of the Korean Workers Party, Kim relinquished the office of premier and was elected president of North Korea in December 1972. In 1980 he raised his son, Kim Jong Il to high posts in the party and the military, in effect designating the younger Kim as his heir.

FOR A LASTING PEACE, FOR A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

AN EXCERPT

Kim Il Sung
Chairman, Party of Labour of Korea
June 30, 1950

Recent events in Korea have once again and with full force exposed the rapacious countenance of American imperialism which does not stop at any means in order to unleash a new war and suppress the peoples fighting for freedom and independence. Whipped up by the growing economic crisis, by growing inner difficulties and contradictions; infuriated by the mighty upsurge of the liberation movement of working people and progressive sections of the people in the metropolis and the colonies; in face of the mighty world peace movement which has unfolded like a sweeping storm; and fearing that this all powerful wave of the people would engulf, crush and destroy the wretched handful of warmongers, the American imperialists are in a hurry, organizing one provocation after another. From preparations for aggression they pass on to direct acts of aggression.

On June 25, the troops of the puppet government in South Korea launched a provocative attack against the Korean People's Democratic Republic and in this way began military operations on Korean territory. American newspapers wrote openly about the preparations for this provocation. "Strange that nearly all the talk about war comes from the leaders in South Korea," wrote Sullivan, the *New York Times* correspondent. "Syngman Rhee has made more than one statement to the effect that his army could start an offensive if Washington would give its consent." Just before military operations began in Korea, the organizers of the military provocation which Washington was preparing arrived in Tokyo. They were: Johnson, U.S. Secretary for War, Bradley, Chief of the General Staff, and the out and out warmonger—the notorious John Foster Dulles. A few days before this provocation, Dulles visited Seoul and issued final instructions to his Korean hirelings. As reported by the *New York Herald Tribune,* Dulles declared to the "Legislative Assembly" of South Korea: "You are not alone!"

The Korean People's Democratic Republic has spared no effort to achieve the unification of the country by peaceful means. Expressing the will and wishes of the people, the United Democratic Fatherland Front of Korea (U.D.F.F.)— which embraces more than 70 political parties and public organizations from the two parts of the country—proposed, on June 7, the peaceful unification of Korea. This, however, ran counter to the plans of the Syngman Rhee clique and its Washington masters. The latter had banked on the fact that by unleashing internecine war they could transform the whole of Korea into a U.S. colony; to spread throughout the country the regime of hunger, the poverty of the masses and the anti-democratic repressions which have been established by the American occupationists in South Korea.

When at day break on June 25, the hordes of Syngman Rhee crossed the 38th Parallel, they knew that behind them stood the fleet and the air force of the American aggressors. However, the People's Army and the border guards of the Korean People's Democratic Republic inflicted on the aggressors and their puppets a blow of such force that they rolled Southwards, in panic, cursed by the people, who rose as one in the struggle for a united, independent and democratic State.

The American aggressors have thrown off the last fig leaf by which they had hitherto tried to conceal their aggressive designs. President Truman stated that he would send air and naval units to the assistance of South Korea. He ordered the U.S. Seventh Fleet to "avert an attack on Formosa," which is, in fact, an order to the American armed forces to occupy this part of Chinese territory.

A special meeting of the Security Council was hastily called on the order of the United States. Despite the UNO Charter which requires that decisions of the Security Council on vital questions be adopted by the concurring vote of all the five permanent members—the USSR and China were not present—the pro-American majority on the Security Council obediently voted for the "decision" dictated by the U.S.

In the light of these facts, the sabotage of the work of UNO, which was organized by the U.S. in connection with the just demand of peoples of China, which has the wholehearted backing of the Soviet Union, to exclude from the Security Council the Chiang Kai-shek representative who does not represent anyone, becomes quite clear. The U.S. has actually taken UNO into its own hands and has made it an instrument of its aggressive policy. Can the decisions of the Security Council have any legal force whatsoever in such circumstances? Of course not! Nevertheless, covering themselves with fictitious "decisions," first the United States and after it Britain, Australia, Holland and other countries are despatching warships to South Korean waters.

American aircraft are bombing Korean towns and villages. The explosions of American bombs resound like an echo in the hysterical screams of the multi-voiced chorus of the bourgeois press which hurls a torrent of filthy lies and slander against the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

These unparalleled acts of rabid U.S. imperialists have shocked all progressive mankind and have caused serious anxiety among all honest people for the fate of peace. The whole world is now aware that U.S. aggression in Korea and China is the latest and the most flagrant act in a long list of crimes perpetrated by the imperialist camp against mankind. It is they, the U.S. imperialists, who are creating aggressive blocs, increasing war budgets which enable the steel and gun magnates to wax rich while the workers and peasants die of starvation. It is they who throw into prison the Communists—the best representatives of the people—in the U.S., Japan, Australia, the Union of South Africa, India and Greece. It is on their orders that the dishonest rulers in France and Italy shoot down working people and intensify the regime of terror and repressions. It is they who reared and trained cannibals like Roberts, the conservative Member of the British parliament, who recently, without the slightest twinge of conscience, called for "an atom bomb to be dropped" on Pyongyang, "if North Korea does not submit."

The rabid warmongers—the U.S. ruling circles and their west European and Asian satellites—are doing all this in the eyes of the whole world. But have they not gone too far? This is the question that the hundreds of millions who are fighting for the peace and security of nations will ask.

The courageous people of Korea are waging a struggle for their united, independent, democratic state. They are replying to the provocation of the warmongers in the only possible and proper manner. Arms in hand, they are defending their country from the imperialists and their agents, the Syngman Rhee clique. No, gentlemen imperialists! By bombing Korean towns and villages, killing defenseless women, children and aged people, you will never bring to their knee the people who are resolved to uphold their freedom and independence. The people of Korea have proved that they do not want to be a plaything in the hands of American aggressors and warmongers. And this is the best contribution of the Korean people to the cause of peace.

The reply of all peace partisans, all people of good will to the latest acts of aggression by the

American imperialists in Korea, China and Indo-China, is still greater intensification of the struggle for peace. More hundreds of millions of signatures to the Stockholm appeal express the indomitable will of all peoples for peace. This is evident from the declaration of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; this is evident from the beginning of the collection of signatures to the appeal in the Soviet Union, from the development of the campaign for the collection of signatures in China, France, Italy, the U.S., Britain and other countries.

The struggle of the peoples for peace is growing and gaining strength. It will reduce to nought the perfidious designs of the imperialists.

Source: Kim Il Sung. *Hands Off Korea* (Bombay: Peoples Publishing House, Ltd. 1950). pp. 1–4.

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PREMIER KIM IL SUNG, INTERVIEWED BY FINNISH CORRESPONDENT, NOVEMBER 28, 1951

AN EXCERPT

Question:

The question of the peaceful unification of Korea has not yet been settled. What measures are necessary first of all for solving this question which is of weighty significance for the relaxation of international tension?

Answer:

The basic reason why the unification of Korea has not yet been realized to this day and tension is continuing in Korea lies in the forcible occupation of South Korea by the U.S. army.

The U.S. army is hampering the unification of Korea and is continuously creating tension by expanding military armaments by bringing into South Korea various kinds of new type weapons including atomic weapons and guided missiles in violation of the Armistice Agreement, and by inciting the Syngman Rheeites to raise a hue and cry for "March North." This very fact proves that the peaceful unification of Korea cannot be realized and peace in Korea cannot be consolidated so long as the U.S. army remains in South Korea.

The unification of Korea is an affair of the Korean people themselves and it must be solved by the Korean people themselves without any interference from outside. Today when the Chinese People's Volunteers have withdrawn from Korea, there is no excuse whatever for the U.S. army to remain in South Korea. First of all, the U.S. army should pull out of South Korea, which is the prerequisite to the peaceful unification of Korea and the relaxation of tension.

Source: Kim Il Sung. *Kim Il Sung Works,* Volumes 24-25 (Pyongyang, Korea: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1980).

packet #2: North Korea

EXCERPT OF SPEECH BY KIM IL SUNG AT THE MEETING AT PYONGYANG CITY, AUGUST 1952

One of the successes we have gained in the course of the war marking its third year is the fact that we have inflicted on the American imperialist armed invaders not only a military defeat on the Korean front but also a big political defeat.

The imperialist armed invaders from 19 countries headed by the American imperialists, dreaming of world domination, have been using for two years various modern military techniques, bacteriological weapons, poison gas and napalm bombs against the young Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Today the whole world knows what the American cannibalistic barbarous army is. Now the whole world knows the savageness and brutality of the American imperialists who are surpassing the German fascists. New "generals"—"plague general", "cholera general", "typhus general", etc.— previously unknown to the world, have appeared. All these facts have made the peoples of the whole world hate the American imperialists and made all honest people know what "the American way of life" really means.

Even the International Committee of the Red Cross, acting on the persistent demands of the American imperialists, is dissatisfied with the Americans who started bacteriological and chemical warfare in Korea.

But the American barbarians of the 20th century do not intend to ratify the Geneva Convention, providing the prohibition of bacteriological and chemical weapons. This further sharpens world opinion against American opinion.

The World Peace Council has clearly exposed the nature of the war waged by the American imperialists in Korea and now everybody knows very well what the American army is. Therefore, the Americans have irreparably lost their prestige before the eyes of the peoples in the world and are being cursed by them.

The war in Korea not only has not united imperialist nations but is sharpening their contradictions. Numerous nations which have participated in the armed invasion against our country want to secede from the American imperialists in order to evade their responsibilities for the criminal war.

This is because the American imperialists have suffered crushing defeats in the war against the Korean people, and many nations, under political and economic pressure, do not always find advantages in keeping pace with the American imperialists.

The war raged by American imperialism in Korea is being impeached by peace-loving people of the world.

Source: Kim Il Sung. *Speech by General Kim Il Sung at the Meeting of Pyongyang City in Celebration of the 7th Anniversary of the August 15 Liberation of Our Fatherland by the Great Soviet Army from the Colonial Rule of Japanese Imperialism* (Pyongyang: Department of Cultural Relations, with Foreign Countries, 1952). pp. 9–10.

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION ON SYNGMAN RHEE

born: March 26, 1875, Whanghae, Korea
died: July 19, 1965, Honolulu, Hawaii

[Syngman Rhee was the president of the Republic of Korea from 1948 to 1960.]

Rhee had a rich and diverse education. Beginning with a traditional classical Confucian education, he then entered a Methodist school, where he learned English. He became an ardent nationalist and ultimately a Christian. In 1896 Rhee joined with other Korean leaders to form the Independence Club, a group dedicated to asserting Korean independence. When right-wing elements destroyed the club in 1898, Rhee was arrested and imprisoned until 1904. Upon his release from prison, he traveled to the United States, where he received a Ph.D. from Princeton, becoming the first Korean to earn a Ph.D. from an American university. He returned home in 1910— the same year Korea was annexed by Japan. Rhee found it impossible to hide his hostility toward Japanese rule, and after working briefly in a YMCA and as a high-school principal, he returned to the United States in 1912.

He spent the next 30 years as a spokesman for Korean independence, trying in vain to win international support for his cause. In 1919 he was elected president of the Korean Provisional Government in exile. He held that post for 20 years and then was pushed out of the leadership by younger Korean nationalists centered in China. Rhee, however, remained in Washington D.C. and spent the years of World War II trying to secure Allied promises of Korean independence. Since Rhee was the only Korean leader well known to Americans, he was returned to Korea ahead of the other members of the Provisional Government after the war. At home he campaigned vigorously for a policy of immediate independence and unification of the country. He soon amassed a political organization supported by strong-arm squads and a following among the police. With the assassination of the major moderate leaders, Rhee's new party won the elections in South Korea, and in 1948 he became president of the Republic of Korea, a post to which he was reelected in 1952, 1956, and 1960.

As president, Rhee assumed dictatorial powers, tolerating little domestic opposition to his program. Rhee purged the National Assembly and outlawed the opposition Progressive Party, whose leader was executed for treason. He controlled the appointment of mayors, village headmen, and chiefs of police. He even defied the United Nations (UN) during the Korean War: Hoping that UN forces would continue to fight, eventually uniting North and South Korea under one government, Rhee hindered the truce talks by ordering the release of the North Korean anticommunist prisoners he held. (Under the agreed-upon truce settlement, these men were to have gone back to North Korea.) Stunned, the communists broke off the negotiations and renewed their attack, largely ignoring the UN forces and concentrating their fire on Rhee's South Korean troops. Having made their point, the communists then resumed negotiations, and a truce settlement was speedily signed.

In spite of his authoritarian policies, Rhee failed to prevent the election of an opposition vice president in 1956. Government claims that the March 1960 elections gave Rhee more than 90 percent of the popular vote (55 percent in 1956) provoked student-led demonstrations resulting in heavy casualties and demands for his resignation. These demands were supported by the unanimous vote of the National Assembly. Rhee resigned on April 27, 1960, and went into exile in Hawaii.

packet #3: South Korea

KOREA FLAMING HIGH: EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENTS BY PRESIDENT SYNGMAN RHEE IN 1954–55

Power of Deception
March 1, 1954

To the enemy the solution desired is to have the free world lay down its arms. When the fighting stops, the Communists begin to win. For they have demonstrated to all the doubters on both sides of the Iron Curtain that despite the physical superiority of the atomic bombs of the democracies the Kremlin has another and in some ways an ever greater power—the power of deception, of cajolery, of propaganda, or subversion—of sneaking, underground termite destructiveness.

So now it happens that on March 1, 1954—thirty-five years after our great national Mansei revolution— our friends who are really strong have been maneuvered into a weak position; whereas our enemy who is really comparatively weak is allowed to operate in a manner which doubles and triples his strength.

Many of our people are discouraged in view of these facts. Many of our brethren in the north, where millions have died and the remainder live on in misery, are still calling helplessly for us to march up and set them free.

Discussion Fails
August 15, 1954

The United Nations has followed a policy of seeking to settle the unification question peacefully by every possible means. But Panmunjon and Geneva already have failed, and we, the Koreans, do not believe that Soviet Russia can be talked into a reasonable and peaceful settlement.

Despite our own convictions, we have suffered in silence and followed the UN plan. We have taken no unilateral action, and we have cooperated with the UN in all its efforts.

Now that the discussion phase has ended, our people—and especially the Korean armed forces—desire to take action. It is our hope that the UN will cooperate with us in pushing up to the Yalu River and in driving the Communists out of Korea. That could be done without great sacrifice, because we have a certain plan that will meet with the approval of the United States military strategists—provided they really want to unify North and South Korea. I want to emphasize that this plan does not involve the use of Atomic or Hydrogen bombs.

If the countries of the UN can not or will not agree to this, then they should permit the ROK forces to take their own unilateral action. We Koreans then can try to accomplish our objective without endangering the lives of those from our friendly nations. Sentiment in both America and Asia strongly backs the right of Korea to take steps for its self-preservation, and unification is the only way to achieve that end.

If the UN will support Korea in neither united nor unilateral action, then it becomes self-evident that our allied nations have no intention of unifying Korea—nor of defending the cause of democracy and their own national security. We of Korea cannot persuade ourselves to believe that such could possibly be the policy of the United States and the public sentiment of the American people.

Source: *Korea Flaming High: Excerpts from Statements by President Syngman Rhee in 1954–55* (Republic of Korea: Office of Public Information, 1956). pp. 5–6, 38–39.

SYNGMAN RHEE,
EXCERPT OF ARTICLE FOR MARVIN STONE,
INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE, JUNE 20, 1955

Communists all over the world are rejoicing over their apparent victory. They now lay claim to more than one half the world and their dream of world conquest appears to them to grow steadily brighter.

On the other hand, many of the people of Asia are expecting the great leader of the free nations to stop the international gangsters from forcing them into slavery. But already there are some who lost hope of help on hearing that the United States' policy favored coexistence. Nations big and small are falling over themselves rushing to woo the Soviets for peace. In their sight the dim hope of making Asia safe for democracy is vanishing fast. They sigh and say to themselves: "The great friend of the weak, the United States, is paying tribute to the Kremlin dictators. Where is our hope of salvation?"

I am afraid that many of the Asians who were loyal pro-Americans are becoming shaky in their loyalty. If they once abandon their hope in America, in their disillusionment they may accept the philosophy that enslaves instead of frees, and may even be compelled to fight for Communism.

To my mind, there are two things we must do to turn the tide. We must implant fear in the hearts of the Communists, and we must remove it from our own. The Communist technique is to push where they can and as hard as they can without stirring up great armed resistance until too late. We can make them fear they must face the consequences for their aggression if we build up a formidable armed force about which they have to worry. They will worry if we do not reveal all the details of this great force, such as its A-bombs and H-bombs and other modern weapons produced in the United States. Meanwhile, we can continue talking, but we should not agree to give away anything more to buy a few additional weeks of peace.

It was Theodore Roosevelt who said "Talk softly, but carry a big stick." The Communists will show some respect for the United States if soft words are backed by ready might.

The world knows the United States will not misuse her strength for aggression, but it should also know that this power will be used to stop aggression, on small scale or large, since one grows out of the other.

From such a position of strength the United States should accept her responsibilities of world leadership by bringing one issue at a time before the Russians for solution. Whether it be the Korean situation first or the Chinese question, failure of the Communists to renounce their aggression should bring down the big stick.

If this is done now it will not bring on a world war, but will prevent one. The Russians, with good reason, are afraid of the United States when aroused by threatened gangsterism and loss of freedom.

I do not deny that there is the risk of war in such a course, but saving democracy is worth the risk, as otherwise the Communists cannot be stopped short of complete world mastery. If freedom is not worth taking such a risk, then there is a quick and easy way out. That is to quietly sign an agreement with the Soviets recognizing them as the world's rulers.

Source: *Korea Flaming High: Excerpts from Statements by President Syngman Rhee in 1954–55* (Republic of Korea: Office of Public Information, 1956). pp. 64–66.

WRITINGS OF SYNGMAN RHEE, "FREEDOM THROUGH STRENGTH," JUNE 25, 1955

Power of Deception

To the achievement of this final goal [world conquest], the Communists are directing all their energy and skill. They are using to the utmost the old and tried method of undermining opposition by lies and subterfuges. As has been true during the whole history of the Communist movement, they utilize at the same time the weapons of intermingled fear and hope.

On the one hand, they do everything they can to lead the free world to believe they are finally ready to negotiate a peaceful coexistence. On the other hand, they are building a vast fleet of intercontinental bombers with which they advertise their capability of delivering a vast rain of atomic and hydrogen bombs on free cities anywhere in the world.

In using both of their weapons of hope and of fear they have many deluded allies among their very intended victims. Democracy is a high development of civilization, in which people are taught to believe that any problem—however difficult—may be solved with any opponent—however vicious—through honest negotiation. The unwary democrats are always humble. They tell themselves that in any circumstances, their enemy may be partly right and that they themselves are partly wrong. They always believe that the truth lies between two extremes. Consequently, they are always ready to make more and more concessions. Having lost almost one-half of the world already, they do not realize that in the end the only successful way is to demand its liberation. Instead, some among them think in terms of giving away still more, in order to buy a willingness from the conquerors to give up their total goal of world conquest. Hence, their hopes lead them to listen eagerly for any and every whisper of superficial reasonableness and to magnify it into a promise of honourable negotiation.

Source: *Korea Flaming High: Excerpts from Statements by President Syngman Rhee in 1954–55* (Republic of Korea: Office of Public Information, 1956). pp. 73–75.

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION ON SHIGERU YOSHIDA

born: September 22, 1878, Yokohama, Japan
died: October 20, 1967

[Shigeru Yoshida was prime minister of Japan during the years 1946 and 1954]

Shigeru Yoshida was born in Yokohama on September 22, 1878. He graduated from Tokyo University in 1906.

Yoshida served in the diplomatic service. In 1913, he became secretary to the governor-general of Korea. He became vice-foreign minister in 1928 and served in this post until 1931. In 1945, Yoshida became foreign minister and helped arrange the meeting between the Japanese emperor and General Douglas MacArthur on September 27, 1945.

In May 1946, Yoshida became prime minister of Japan and served until May 1947. He returned to the premiership in October 1948. In January 1949 he called a general election and won a victory that laid the parliamentary base for the ensuing "Yoshida era." During this era, Japan attained sovereignty under the terms of the San Francisco Peace Treaty signed in 1951.

Yoshida agreed to a bilateral security treaty with the United States. Japan agreed to the continued presence of U.S. military bases and to Japan's own rearmament.

Source: *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia,* Volume 2 (Tokyo: Kodansha, Ltd., 1993). p. 1757.

EXCERPT FROM SHIGERU YOSHIDA, *JAPAN'S DECISIVE CENTURY: 1867–1967*

In his book, *Japan's Decisive Century: 1867–1967*, Shigeru Yoshida summarizes his thoughts on the Korean War and its impact on Japan.

Within a few days of Dulles'* arrival in Tokyo, the Korean War began—an event, precipitated by the Communists, that was to prove a turning point in the revival of the Japanese economy. The war came at the very moment that, as a result of the Dodge policy**, an upward trend began to be in evidence. Orders were placed in Japan for commodities and supplies needed by the United Nations forces fighting in Korea. At the same time, foreign markets in general improved. For these reasons, the volume of Japanese exports increased greatly. By September, 1950, clothing rationing in Japan was abolished. Within one year of the outbreak of the Korean conflict, production of Japan's mining and manufacturing industries had risen by 50 per cent, while corporate incomes trebled and, in some cases, quadrupled between 1949 and 1951.

Source: Shigeru Yoshida. *Japan's Decisive Century: 1867–1967* (New York: Praeger, 1967). p. 77.

*Note: John Foster Dulles at the time was an advisor to the U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Acheson.

**Note: Joseph Morrell Dodge served from 1949 to 1952 as General Douglas MacArthur's financial advisor during the Allied Occupation. The Dodge policy was a series of financial measures designed to control inflation in Japan during the years immediately following World War II.

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EXCERPT FROM SHIGERU YOSHIDA, *YOSHIDA MEMOIRS*

Following the end of World War II, the Allied forces occupied Japan. The occupation of Japan covered the time period from September 1945 until April 1952, when Japan became independent. From the outset, the main objectives of the occupation of Japan were the disarmament of Japan and the establishment of conditions to prevent the revival of a Japanese military threat in the Pacific. Shigeru Yoshida was the prime minister of Japan during most of this time period. The following is an excerpt from his memoirs regarding rearmament and the Korean War.

To me, the idea of rearmament has always seemed to be one verging on idiocy. A nation such as the United States may possess sufficient arms and equipment to call herself armed, but this is made possible by the untold wealth of the American people and the impetus given to the perfection of her armaments by the Second World War.

For Japan to attempt anything which could be considered as rearmament, even on the smaller scale warranted by the differences in national wealth and products between our two countries, is completely out of the question. Rearmament, for Japan, is simply a word which politicians and others may conjure, but which to anyone with the slightest knowledge of the subject can never be anything more than a word. The necessary wealth is lacking, and, even more than wealth, the necessary psychological background, which is the desire of the people to rearm, is just not there. The miseries and destruction of the Pacific war are still actualities for a large majority of the Japanese people; they remember only too vividly what war is like and they want none of it again.

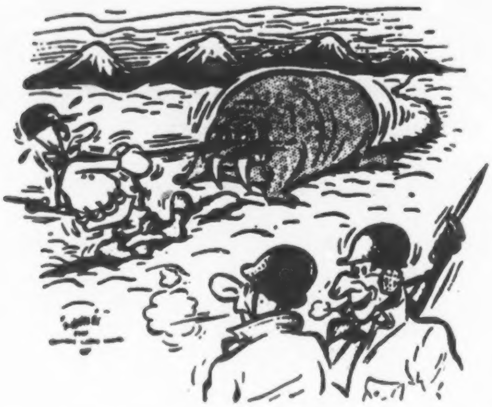
The proposal that Japan should rearm was first advanced in earnest immediately before the outbreak of the Korean war. The American government had begun seriously to consider the question of concluding peace with Japan, and that fact gave rise to the problem of the defence of the country after a peace had been concluded and the Allied forces had been withdrawn. The international situation made it out of the question to leave Japan sovereign and naked—and without defence—and it was in that way that the subject of Japanese rearmament first came to be discussed. I objected to the suggestion for reasons already outlined, and we compromised, at least at that juncture, by arranging that the disused facilities of the former Imperial Army and Navy be restored to operation, to co-operate with the U.S. Forces. Soon after this decision the Japanese Government received General MacArthur's directive to establish a National Police Reserve (with the outbreak of the Korean War), and thus the first step towards the provision of some means of defence for Japan by the Japanese was taken at the instance of the Occupation authorities.

Source: Shigeru Yoshida. *Yoshida Memoirs* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962). pp. 191–192.

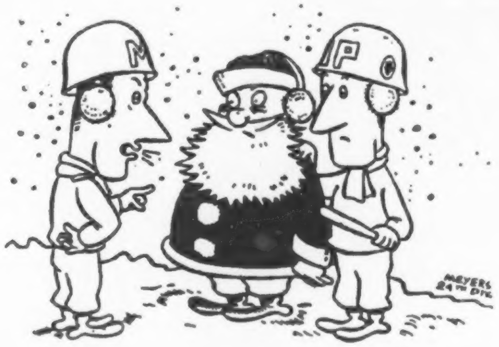
handout #3

CARTOONS FROM *PACIFIC STARS AND STRIPES*, 1950–1952

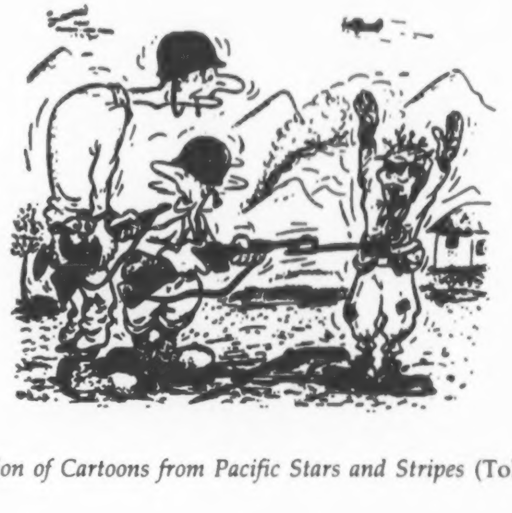
Pacific Stars and Stripes was a U.S. newspaper that reported the events of the Korean War. Cartoons were contributed to the newspaper by officers and enlisted men of all the U.S. armed services and some of the UN forces. Many of the cartoons were compiled into a book, *Out of Line: A Collection of Cartoons from Pacific Stars and Stripes*. The book was published in Tokyo, Japan, in 1952, and the cartoons on this handout were taken from this book. Many of the cartoons, such as the ones illustrated on this handout, focused on the North Korean or Chinese communists. Rewrite or redraw the cartoon from one of the non-U.S. perspectives presented in this lesson, i.e., North Korean, South Korean, Chinese, or Japanese.



"He's worked so hard bringing him in, I hate to tell him it's not a Chinese Commie."



"So he's wearing a red suit... that doesn't make him a Commie."



"I don't care if he does say 'sho nuff,' 'right smart,' and 'you all,' I still think he's a North Korean."

Reprinted from *Out of Line: A Collection of Cartoons from Pacific Stars and Stripes* (Tokyo: Pacific Stars and Stripes, 1952).

Lesson 3

KOREA'S CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL SITUATION

A NEWS CONFERENCE

Organizing Questions

- How have the politics of North and South Korea affected or influenced foreign policy with the United States and Japan?
- What historical conditions set the foundation for North and South Korea's current political situation?
- What is the impact of the divided peninsula on issues related to family, reunification, and politics for both North and South Koreans?

Introduction

Students are introduced to Korea's contemporary political situation through participation in a News Conference. Different perspectives are explored through group work and in a simulation of a News Conference. This activity takes place in two parts. In part one, students in six small groups discuss their characters' political beliefs and focus their efforts on becoming familiar with issues surrounding U.S., Japanese, North Korean, and South Korean relations. In part two, students participate in a News Conference. The issues investigated in this lesson are the security of the Korean Peninsula and the entire East Asian region, nuclear weapons, and the reunification of North and South Korea.

Objectives

knowledge

- to learn about Korea's political history since the end of the Korean War
- to understand the various experiences of different individuals or groups in North and South Korean society
- to consider ways in which domestic politics influence policies and political beliefs with Japan and the United States

attitude

- to gain an appreciation and an understanding of the historical conditions and processes that have shaped the current situation in the Korean Peninsula
- to appreciate multiple perspectives and the ability to see events from different points of view
- to understand the complexities of domestic and international politics

skill

- to critically evaluate how different points of view inform our perceptions of political conflicts and world events
- to gain empathy for these different points of view

Materials

- Handouts #1-6: Profiles of characters containing statements and attitudes about the relationship between North and South Korea, Japan, and the United States.
- Handout #7: Reporter's Notepad, one for each reporter
- Handout #8: Group Roles and Directions, one per group

Procedure

1. Introduce this lesson by reviewing aspects of the Japanese colonization of Korea, the Korean War, and the Cold War from the previous two lessons. Explain that this lesson will focus on the current political situation of North Korea and South Korea. Political relations with Japan and the United States will be examined through an in-depth analysis of the ways in which historical developments have shaped the present conditions in the Korean Peninsula. This will be achieved by students participating in a News Conference, with each group making a presentation to the entire class on behalf of one character. Inform students that they will be working in six small groups and will be assigned specific roles within their groups.
2. Inform students that they have been assigned to a small group in charge of creating a presentation about the philosophies and ideas of one of the following characters: President Kim Young Sam of South Korea, the late Kim Il Sung of North Korea, President Bill Clinton, Jae Hyuk Lee of North Korea, Young Mi Park of South Korea, and Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto of Japan.
3. Each group will consist of the following people: the character, a press secretary, reporter, resource person, and graphic artist. Handout #8, Group Roles and Directions, explains each person's role and guides students through the process of this activity. If small groups have more than five students, two or more students can be assigned as resource persons. If electronic resources are available, you may want to assign one student to be a resource person in charge of this area. Handout #8 also provides an opportunity for students to ask questions and clarify roles.
4. Inform students that each person is crucial to the presentation and success of the activity and that the News Conference should be lively, stimulating, and illuminate the philosophies and ideas of the characters. Students will have at least one period to prepare for the News Conference and handouts can be read as homework or in class. Encourage them to embellish their roles and to use outside resources.
5. During the News Conference, the teacher should act as the host, encourage questions, and highlight the different opinions, controversies, and beliefs about the current political situation on

the Korean Peninsula. Briefly generate a discussion about the beliefs of these characters in the context of continuing tensions between North and South Korea. What do they see as the best solution for the situation in the Korean Peninsula? What are their roles in global affairs? Why has the conflict in this region been so controversial? The News Conference should take most of the class period. Following the News Conference, debrief by utilizing these suggested questions:

- According to your understanding of the current Korean situation, what ideas do you have about the U.S. role in South Korea? Is it helpful or hindering to the peace process of the region?
- In your view, what do you see as the future of the Korean Peninsula and do you think there is a solution in sight? Should North and South Korea reunify?
- Now that you have heard the different perspectives of world leaders and Korean individuals, what is your analysis of the situation and the role of political ideologies in this debate?

Assessment

Have each student assume the role of a newspaper editor from the following hypothetical newspapers: *U.S. Political News, Tokyo Political News Bulletin, North Korean Political News Daily,* or *Seoul Daily,* reporting on the proceedings of the News Conference. Have each student select a newspaper and write an editorial. Use the editorials to determine how well students draw upon their newly acquired knowledge and perspectives related to Korea's contemporary political situation. How persuasive are their comments and/or points of view?

Policy Study References

Gerrit W. Gong, Seizaburo Sato, and Tae Hwan Ok, eds. *Korean Peninsula Developments and U.S.–Japan–South Korea Relations,* Volume 1. Washington, D.C.: The Center for Strategic and International Studies. 1993.

handout #1

PROFILE OF JAE HYUK LEE, NORTH KOREA

"A Bitter and Broken Heart"

The following story was written by a North Korean citizen. The name is fictional.

In June of 1950, I was a boy of fourteen. I was walking home from school with my older brother when we heard from the other boys that a war had begun in our country. They told us that boys our age were being "recruited" by the North Korean army. I thought it would be exciting to be in the army, but I was too young to join.

The next week my older brother Jung joined the army. He left with a small bag, without any fanfare. We didn't know exactly where he was going, but we knew that it was an important job he was doing: fighting for his country.

Five years earlier, when the Second World War had ended, Korea was divided in half: North Korea, under the "supervision" of the Soviet Union and a communist government with Kim Il Sung as president, and South Korea, under United States' "supervision" and with an elected president, Syngman Rhee. We lived in the far north, close to the Chinese border, so we were part of North Korea. I didn't really understand why our nation was divided in half all of a sudden, but I knew that everyone was happy that Korea was no longer a colony of Japan. After 1945 we didn't have to study Japanese in school any more, and we could practice our Korean culture freely.

The new government under Kim Il Sung was very organized. We all liked him, and in school we read a lot about him and the new improvements being made in North Korea. Under his government, everyone had jobs, and everyone was given a good amount of food according to how many people were in your household. Since we had ten people (six children, my parents, and my grandparents), we received a lot of rice and other food.

One day the fighting came to our town. The United States had come to the aid of the South Koreans, and General MacArthur had ruthlessly taken his army all the way up to the Chinese border. Everyone said that he was a crazy man, that he wanted to take all of Korea and even go to war with China, a huge nation. I remember that day because it was the last day I ever saw my older brother. He was taken as a prisoner by the ROK (Republic of Korea) army with several other young men from our town. At least that's what we heard from rumors.

My mother was devastated. She cried every day he was gone, saying that it was the Americans' fault for dividing our nation and our family. Why was this war happening and taking away her son? She didn't understand, and neither did the rest of us.

The war went on for three long years. It was a terrible time, with brutal fighting going on all around us. The Soviets and the Americans were fighting their war on our land. Our country was virtually destroyed in this war, which I think really shouldn't be called the "Korean War," but the "U.S.-Soviet War in Korea."

The war ended in 1953, with a stalemate. The line drawn to separate Soviet-occupied North Korea and U.S.-occupied South Korea was in the same place it was when the war began three years earlier, at the 38th parallel; only this time, it was as tense as ever. No one could cross the border zone, called the "DMZ," or "demilitarized zone." This area is heavily occupied by soldiers on both sides who have guns pointing at each other. No one would ever dare cross.

Today, it is almost fifty years later, and I am an older man. Many people say that the Cold War is finally over, with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the collapse of Soviet communism. However, in my country this "cold war" is very hot and tense. The Korean War separated over 2 million Korean families, and left millions of Korean women widows. I have not seen my brother for fifty years, and I don't know whether he is dead or alive or in South Korea living a wonderful life, or perhaps in the United States with his own family. There are agencies that you can pay to try to find your family, but it costs a lot, and we do not have the money. My neighbors have very rich family members in the United States who send them money each month, but it is all underhanded, and when they meet they must be accompanied by a North Korean government official.

My question is, why did the U.S. government get involved, back in 1950? Why do they have to get involved in everyone's business? Our country of Korea was in a civil war, because of North Korea's desire to unite our nation under one government and one flag. That has always been our desire. Why does the United States feel that it needs to "protect" everyone in South Korea from their brothers in the North? I am very bitter about this. My family was destroyed by this war, and we cannot even send a letter out or telephone call to look for our brother. My mother died 10 years ago, with a bitter and broken heart over the loss of her son. She told me that her wish was for Koreans to be unified one day, so that our family could be reunited. For her sake, I wish that the United States would leave South Korea and leave us alone.

handout #2

PROFILE OF YOUNG MI PARK, SOUTH KOREA

"Freedom We Have Never Had Before"

The following story was written by a South Korean citizen. The name is fictional.

I am very grateful to the Americans for aiding us back in 1950. Communism is a very evil thing, and when the North Koreans under the guidance of the Soviet Union tried to take over South Korea in 1950, it was a very frightening time. We lived in Seoul (the capital of South Korea) then, and the fighting and bombings were terrible. We all picked up what we could and fled south to Pusan. Millions of families did the same thing. They (the North Koreans) were brutal in their attempted takeover of the nation. They murdered women and children, burned homes, and left nothing for us in our hometowns.

Luckily, the United States came to our rescue. We are so grateful that they came here to help us. I know that thousands of Americans sacrificed their lives, soldiers who died in combat, and also medical personnel—all for us. How can we ever thank them for what they did for us?

Today, we can see the results of the U.S. intervention. South Korea is one of the fastest growing economies in the world. We have a democratic government and a fine example of capitalism at its best. We make some of the finest manufactured goods, such as clothing, shoes, computers, televisions, stereos, and cars, in the world. In 1988, we hosted the Summer Olympic Games, and all the world saw our beautiful nation and culture. That was our proudest moment, that only 35 years after the war, we recovered so mightily. With the United States' example and help, we were able to rise up from the ashes of the Korean War to become a great nation, right behind Japan. We are alive now, and we have freedom like we have never had before. Without the United States, we would have no chance to go our own way, right or wrong.

Meanwhile, North Korea under communist rule has become one of the poorest nation in the world. They have one of the smallest per-capita incomes, but no one ever hears about it because they are closed to the world. They cannot enjoy the benefits of new technology such as televisions or movies because the communist government censors everything. They eat only plain food every day, like rice and soup. We hear that people are starving on the other side of the 38th parallel. Corrupt communist officials have taken away the hope of the people. We are lucky to be on the democratic side. How can we ever repay the Americans for what they did?

Their help has not ended. Today, there are still 38,000 U.S. army personnel in South Korea. Without their presence, North Korea would certainly attack us. North Korea has one of the strongest armies in Asia, and they have recently developed nuclear weapons. In 1994, they refused UN inspections of their nuclear sites. What does this mean for us? It means that we are still on the brink of the Cold War. It is not over. The United States is doing so much just by being here. I know that many Americans are critical of this military occupation, but we are pleading with their government to stay. What will happen to us if they leave?

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handout #3

PROFILE OF BILL CLINTON, PRESIDENT, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

I want to begin addressing Korea's political situation with the faith and hope that the tensions and conflicts between North and South Korea will soon be resolved. The legacy of the Korean War and the Japanese colonization of Korea has left profound scars on the Korean people all over the world. As we approach the 21st century and witness our world order undergoing some significant political and historical changes, it is my hope that we can begin discussing the future of the Korean Peninsula.

I recently visited President Kim Young Sam of South Korea to discuss North Korea's renunciation of the 1953 Armistice Agreement which basically is an agreement formulated by the United States, China, and North Korea in order to call for a cease-fire between North Korea and South Korea. Essentially, this 155-mile zone called the DMZ (demilitarized zone) is the boundary line separating the two Koreas. Lately, we have been witnessing North Korea's undermining of this truce agreement and are concerned about the continuing hostilities between North and South Korea.

President Kim Young Sam of South Korea and I have proposed a four-way meeting with North Korea and China. The purpose of this meeting would be to initiate a process aimed at achieving a permanent peace agreement on the Korean Peninsula as well as to address a wide range of tension-reduction measures. We would like to see a replacement of the 43-year-old Armistice Agreement with a new peace agreement.

In our post-Cold War environment and our recognition of political systems that have the right and the freedom to pursue their own futures and destinies, the United States is reluctant to engage in direct talks with North Korea unless it adheres to and respects the 1953 agreement that ended the Korean War. We stand firm on the issue that negotiations should strictly be between North and South Korea, but we will be ready to facilitate the process in any way we can. Let me emphasize that we expect (the North Koreans) to abide by the armistice, and that'll be the United States' position.

We want to promote further dialogue about other serious issues that not only affect the well-being of Asia but also the well-being and peace of the entire world. What is at stake here is the economic and political stability of all of Asia and the need to make the world a safer place. We are pleased that North Korea is willing to begin neutralizing its 8,000 nuclear fuel rods at its main reactor and is following International Atomic Energy Agency guidelines which operate under the United Nations.

Lastly, the United States and North Korea have been trying to reach an agreement on the amount the United States should compensate North Korea for the returned remains of 162 U.S. soldiers killed during the Korean War. Once again, it is my hope that we can reach a final agreement with North Korea regarding this matter.

handout #4

PROFILE OF KIM IL SUNG, FORMER PRESIDENT, NORTH KOREA (DIED IN 1994)

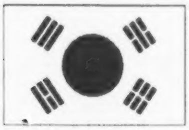
For many years, I have tried to initiate a peace treaty between North Korea and the United States. Since the end of World War II, the United States has been a major player in our region. The 38,000 U.S. troops in South Korea are a constant reminder to us that the tensions between democracy and communism are still alive and that in order for the people of North and South Korea to unite, we must employ strategies of national liberation and advance the traditions of Marxism and Leninism. There is a serious possibility in our minds that the United States could wage a full-scale nuclear war in our region and, moreover, that these troops stand in our way of truly achieving a reunified Korea. I believe that there is a likelihood for a reunified Korea but not unless the U.S. troops abandon their mission of "protecting" South Korea and begin to aid in our common goal of a reunified Korea.

President Clinton and President Kim have proposed a four-party meeting to promote peace on the Korean Peninsula. Unless we enter these talks, the United States and Japan have stipulated that they will withhold food assistance to our people who are suffering as a result of devastating floods and famine last year. We view this kind of situation with much trepidation due to unequal resources and skewed power relations between the United States, South Korea, and ourselves. This bribery or so-called trade is not an invitation for us to negotiate on our own accordance but rather is one more way that the United States assumes its position in this region. This kind of coercion does not further the peace process in the Korean region and it is unlikely that we will negotiate in this kind of situation.

The roots of this conflict are deeply embedded in our history as a nation. For centuries, our neighbors—China, Japan and the former Soviet Union—have vied for control of our land, people, and political systems. The Japanese, especially, were ruthless in their colonization of the Korean Peninsula, forcing our people to submit to their language, customs, and political tyranny. We will no longer be victim of imperialist nations whose primary concern is to assert power and control over our people. We want to decide our own destiny and not be subject to other nations using us as a playing card.

Since the early 1960s, I have asserted that the issue of reunification should be settled by Koreans themselves. In addition to proposing the withdrawal of U.S. troops, I would like to see the reduction of armed forces by ourselves and the Koreans in the South and the beginning of economic and cultural relations between us.

We need to strongly assert that we believe in keeping the struggle alive against the imperialist forces in our region and that the relationship between the United States and South Korea "is not a way out but a road to destruction." We will liberate ourselves only through continuing our struggle "till the shades of colonialism are wiped off the face of the earth once and for all, till all the oppressed and humiliated nations build their independent states and achieve social progress and national prosperity."

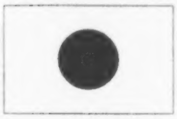


PROFILE OF KIM YOUNG SAM, PRESIDENT, SOUTH KOREA

Our partnership with the United States has been a mutual defense alliance that has strengthened and maintained the peace and security of both the Korean Peninsula and the Northeast Asian region as a whole. The continued presence of the United States as a military presence in Korea is instrumental in our shared commitment to democracy and a free-market economy. We believe that both our countries embrace many of the same basic values about political systems and government efficiency. Additionally, our two-way trade has reached a level that has begun to show remarkable mutual benefit and we are buying more products than ever from the United States. We hope to continue our already strong relationship with the United States and hope to achieve progress toward reconciliation and cooperation with North Korea.

I have made *globalization* the foremost national goal of South Korea. This initiative calls for reform in the areas of government, economy, improving the lives for all Korean people, especially the underprivileged, and working on our relationship with North Korea. We have made attempts, and have repeatedly made attempts, to reaffirm our desire for reunification of Korea with the government of North Korea. However, Kim Il Sung always rationalized the political and economic ideas of Stalin and focused the military build-up of North Korea in order to intimidate and eventually take over the South. As far as we are concerned, these aggressive strategies make us wary of developing a trusting relationship with North Korea and we feel it behooves us to deal with North Korea from a position of strength by equally preparing our military, stressing the need for economic growth, and engaging in diplomatic relations with Japan and China. Much has changed since the end of the Korean War, with North Korea becoming more and more isolated from the world and not having the backing of the former Soviet Union and China.

We are requesting Japan, Russia, and China to bring pressure on North Korea to prevent further incidents in the demilitarized zone. Ever since North Korea has renounced its commitment to the 1953 Armistice Agreement and challenged the peace in the area, we cannot assist North Korea with aid. Unless Pyongyang (North Korea's capital) takes serious steps toward these proposed four-way talks, it will be difficult for us to provide rice for North Korea.



PROFILE OF RYUTARO HASHIMOTO, PRIME MINISTER, JAPAN

Our relations with North Korea have steadily been improving in the last three years and it is my hope that reunification between North and South Korea will become a reality in the near future. Our principal foreign policy objective toward Korea has been to maintain the security of the Asian region. Our partnership with the United States and our recently signed accord with them has reaffirmed our nation's responsibility in the prevention of military conflict with North Korea or China. I have pledged to my people to review what Japan's role would be if a conflict should erupt in East Asia. While this is a purely hypothetical situation at the moment, we have concentrated our efforts in this vein and continue to view the U.S. troops in Okinawa as important for the peace of the region.

I want to reiterate that we continue close ties with South Korea and support their requests of suspending further economic assistance to North Korea. We agree with our South Korean and U.S. allies that recent forays in the demilitarized zone will not be tolerated and are in direct violation of the 1953 Armistice Agreement.

We are equally concerned about North Korea continuing to expand its nuclear capability and are wary about its desire to negotiate only with the United States. Along with Seoul and Washington, we have proposed peace talks with North and South Korea, China and the United States in order to address the Korean situation. I am hopeful that President Kim Young Sam and President Clinton will continue their commitment to peace in the Asian region and pledge their support for a more prosperous and less antagonistic environment as we enter the 21st century.

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handout #7

REPORTER'S NOTEPAD

This sheet is intended for you to write down at least three questions you will ask any of the characters. Use it for any notes that will help you during the introductions or from the material handed out about the characters. The last space below is intended for you to write down things that come to your mind as you are sorting out the different views of the characters. This will assist you during the class discussion.

QUESTIONS:

NOTES:

CRITIQUE OF POSITIONS:

GROUP ROLES AND DIRECTIONS

Character

The person playing this role is responsible for learning the ideas and personality of his/her character. He or she will take the time to also learn the ideas and personality of the other five characters and should also anticipate the kinds of questions the press will ask during the News Conference.

Press Secretary

This person is in charge of introducing the character in his/her group (1 minute maximum). During the question/answer period the press secretary should help field questions that the character cannot answer. The press secretary also will need to anticipate what kinds of questions or challenges will come from the press.

Reporter

The reporter asks questions at the News Conference and challenges the other characters during the News Conference. Help keep it lively!

Resource Person

This role is crucial in terms of making sure that the group has the resources it needs for the News Conference. The resource person can help provide additional information from books, encyclopedias, electronic resources, or personal knowledge. Additionally, he/she will act as a mediator between his/her group and the teacher. The resource person also acts as a reporter during the News Conference.

Graphic Artist

The graphic artist can prepare drawings, charts, or other visual aids for the character to use in the News Conference.

DIRECTIONS FOR NEWS CONFERENCE:

1. Each group member should know his/her role and if there are any questions, ask!

2. All group members should read and discuss the information about their character as well as the other five.

3. Preparing the character is a group effort. Students should collaborate about what they think will be asked by other reporters. Feel free to embellish the roles.

4. The press secretary will introduce the character and remain seated behind the character.

5. The host (teacher) will be instrumental in keeping the News Conference flowing by encouraging questions from all the reporters.

6. During the post-News Conference there will be a class discussion about the information contained in the lesson—perspectives of characters and critical questions about the political situation in the Korean Peninsula.

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Lesson 4

KOREA'S CONTEMPORARY ECONOMIC SITUATION

WHERE TO BUILD A FACTORY

Organizing Questions

- What are some of the challenges, obstacles, and achievements of North and South Korea's economic situations?
- How are the economies of the United States and Japan linked to the economies of North and South Korea?

Introduction

This lesson introduces students to the contemporary economic situations of North and South Korea through a role play in which students decide where to build an automobile assembly plant. Students are provided with data on four countries—North Korea, South Korea, Japan, and the United States—and consider factors that help them make an investment decision on where to build a factory.

Objectives

knowledge

- to understand the economic interdependence between the United States, Japan, and South Korea
- to consider the dynamics and complexities of the United States' and Japan's economic relationship with North Korea

attitude

- to appreciate the basic advantages and disadvantages of socialist and capitalist economic systems
- to consider the influence of cultural values and social ethics on economic development

skill

- to utilize case studies as an example of larger issues
- to identify the various inputs of different company functions in business decisions
- to analyze and evaluate data on several countries relevant to the investment decisions of a multinational corporation

Materials

- Handout #1: Decision-Making Role Play, one per group
- Handout #2: Where to Build a Factory, Data on Four Countries, one per group

Procedure

1. Divide the class into small groups of 4 or 5 students. Each group will act as a board of directors of a large U.S. multinational corporation making a decision on the location of production facilities. Distribute Handout #1, Decision-Making Role Play, to each group. The students should read this handout, which describes the factors the students will need to take into account in analyzing and comparing the information from the four countries being considered as the location for the proposed automobile assembly plant. Allow about fifteen minutes for each group to discuss these factors and attempt to rank them in order of importance. This activity will help the students better understand and evaluate these factors before proceeding with the decision-making process.

2. Distribute Handout #2, Where to Build a Factory, to each group. This handout contains basic economic information about four countries: the United States, Japan, South Korea, and North Korea. Have the students read the information provided, using it as a basis for evaluating each of these countries as to its desirability as the location of an automobile assembly plant. Students should be encouraged to use almanacs, encyclopedias, magazine articles, World Wide Web (if access is available), and other sources of information that they feel would be useful in making their decision. Each group of students should reach a consensus as to which country should be the site of the assembly plant.

3. Ask each group to report to the class its decision and the reasons for it. Also, ask each group to report on the decision-making process in its group. Did the group have trouble reaching a decision by consensus? Finally, have each group analyze the global implications of the decision it reached. Some questions that can be used to guide the students are:
    - What countries will be affected by this decision?
    - What might be some effects of this decision on workers in different countries? consumers in different countries? the multinational corporation's stockholders (who live in different countries around the world)? the governments of different countries?
    - How will your decision to build a factory in the country you chose link that country's economy more closely to the rest of the world?

4. Each group's answers will vary depending on which country it selected. However, from these questions the students should begin to see how the rise of multinational corporations and global production systems has led to increasing global interdependence. Economic decisions made daily by large corporations have global effects on workers, consumers, stockholders, and national governments. Increasingly, the various countries of the world are linked in a single global economy.

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Assessment

Have students, individually or in small groups, write a persuasive letter to the Chairman of the Board of their multinational corporation with a recommendation regarding where to build the automobile assembly plant. Assess how well the students understood the economic factors considered in the decision. How convincing are their letters?

Policy Study References

Gerrit W. Gong, Seizaburo Sato, and Tae Hwan Ok, eds. *Korean Peninsula Developments and U.S.–Japan–South Korea Relations*, Volume 1. Washington, D.C.: The Center for Strategic and International Studies. 1993.

Gerrit W. Gong, Seizaburo Sato, and Tae Hwan Ok, eds. *Korean Peninsula Issues and U.S.–Japan–South Korea Relations*, Volume 2. Washington, D.C.: The Center for Strategic and International Studies. 1993.

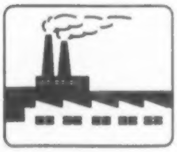
Gerrit W. Gong, Seizaburo Sato, and Tae Hwan Ok, eds. *Korean Peninsula Trends and U.S.–Japan–South Korea Relations*, Volume 3. Washington, D.C.: The Center for Strategic and International Studies. 1994.

handout #1

DECISION-MAKING ROLE PLAY: WHERE TO BUILD A FACTORY

Wages	How much do factory workers get paid in each country? This is important because it will determine how much your company will have to pay workers in its assembly plant.
Availability of Skilled Labor	What is the education system of the country like? Will it be easy to obtain enough educated and trained workers to fill positions for engineers, mechanics, accountants, managers, etc.?
Natural Resources	What natural resources are available in each country?
Political Stability	How stable is the country's government? Will it be able to maintain law and order? To protect your investment, you will only want to build a factory in a country where you are reasonably sure that you can continue to operate the factory for years in the future. A major concern for many multinational corporations with plants in developing countries is that a revolutionary government may come to power and expropriate (take over) one of their factories.
Transportation System	How well is the country linked to the rest of the world? Will you be able to ship in parts and ship out the finished products quickly and cheaply? Ideally, the factory should be located near the world's leading markets so that transportation costs will be kept low.
Import/ Export Restrictions	Are there any tariffs, import quotas, or other governmental trade restrictions that will influence your decision? For example, an important reason Japanese auto companies are locating assembly plants in the United States is to assure access to the U.S. market even if protectionist measures are enacted to keep out automobile imports from Japan.
Government Regulations	Before decided to invest in a factory, a company needs to know such things as: What will be the attitude of the government toward its decision to build a factory there? What government regulations will it have to comply with? How much will it have to pay in taxes, etc.?
Cultural and Linguistic Factors	Will language differences create communications problems? Will the nation's customs be compatible with the established principles and procedures of your company? The attitudes and practices that determine the relationship between labor and management will be especially important to a company interested in building a factory.

handout #2



WHERE TO BUILD A FACTORY: DATA ON FOUR COUNTRIES

Before deciding where to build a factory, a company must gather information about different countries where the plant could be build. Provided here is basic information on four countries that are being considered by your multinational automobile company as a location for a large automobile assembly plant. Use this information and any other information about these countries that you can find in magazines, newspapers, encyclopedias, the Internet, etc. Your group must decide in which of these countries the plant should be built. Your group must reach a decision by consensus (everyone must agree; no voting allowed). Each group will be asked to report on their decision and how that decision was made.

* * *

North Korea

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) is one of the few remaining socialist countries in the world. All industry is nationalized and agriculture collectivized, and officially, the unemployment rate is zero. However, following the death of its former leader, Kim Il-Sung, the country has been grappling with political instability and economic crisis. The economy has been faltering for some time since the collapse of the former Soviet Union which ended barter trade and business deals at "friendly prices." In addition, food shortages due to floods and other causes have led to a further impoverished economy.

In particular, after its former allies Russia and China established trade and diplomatic relations with its rival, South Korea, the North's dilemma has grown more acute. Now, after 50 years of isolationism and economic decay, North Korea is seeking foreign businesses to set up shop in its free trade zone. In opening a free trade zone, Kim Il Sung's son and heir, Kim Jong Il, was seen as moving away from his father's stringent philosophy of self-reliance (*juche*). In addition, the emphasis has shifted from heavy industries to the development of consumer products, including heavy machinery, trucks, tractors, bulldozers, farm implements, and electrical generators.

In November 1991, North Korea designated a wide area of land between Rajin and Sonbong as the nation's first free trade zone. The area, bordering China and Russia, has come to be known as the Tumen River Economic Development Area, and some analysts believe it has the potential to be Northeast Asia's Shenzhen—China's prosperous Special Economic Zone. The project, sponsored by $30 billion of United Nations money, is believed to be the key to an economic revival of North Korea.

One of the advantages for multinational companies to invest in the area is that it claims easy access to the wealthy Japanese and South Korean markets while maintaining a low-cost manufacturing base. The area already has some satisfactory infrastructural facilities such as railways, roads, harbor, water supply and electricity.

The low minimum wage of $80 a month in the Rajin-Sonbong area is attractive to foreign companies looking for cheaper labor for their factories. North Korean employees will be provided through a labor arrangement agency, while companies also have the option of bringing employees from their own countries. The area also offers investors among the fewest labor rules in Asia. Other investment factors such as land leasing, building construction, and water supply all have been set at lower prices. The North Korean authorities have said that the current population in the area will be increased and that the area will be developed into an international trade city.

In 1993, the per capita GNP in North Korea was $1,100.

It is believed that investment in the free trade zone will slash export costs and lure more investment for resource exploitation, agriculture, and industry. In addition, the zone's financial terms are among the most attractive in the region with full freedom from import duties and a tax holiday for three years after a venture starts to make a profit. Land will be leased to export processing firms for 50 years free of charge.

A 70 kilometer railway connecting North Korea to the Chinese and Russian sections of the Tumen region is under construction with a finish date targeted for the end of 1996. New container facilities at the Rajin port in North Korea have cut travel time between North and South Korea significantly. Plans are underway to improve such transportation services by upgrading vessels as well as adding new shipping lines to Japan. North Korea also plans to build a power plant with a capacity of one million kilowatts near the Sonbong thermal power plant. The country will also construct an international airport in Sonbong to open air routes connecting the area to Japan, Russia, and China.

Some fear, however, that North Korea while welcoming foreign investment is still operating according to old habits and ideas. One such idea is *juche*—the idea of self-reliance. It is expected that the products made in North Korean factories are for export only. In addition, foreign investment is strictly limited to the free trade zone area. Another factor that foreign companies consider risky is that unlike China, North Korea does not have a system through which a financial institution such as a central bank will guarantee foreign investment. Such inefficient customs and procedures may prove to be impediments to speedy progress. Also, while North Korea has agreed to issue on-the-spot visas to the Rajin-Sonbong zone to any foreigner holding an invitation letter, the Chinese side is requiring that visitors entering from China hold a normal North Korean visa. Such problems in interrelations among the three countries may work against the success of multinational investment in the free trade zone.

Nevertheless, many foreign companies have already expressed great interest in expanding operations in the area. The combination of Russia's natural resources along with North Korea's transit facilities and manufacturing skills and China's large workforce are compelling reasons for investment in the Rajin-Sonbong area. Also, potential investors are hoping that the same Confucian ethic that built Japan and South Korea will one day turn North Korea into another Asian success story. Top South Korean companies such as Daewoo and Samsung have plans to form joint ventures and factories to produce a wide range of consumer products as well as establishing a 10,000-line phone exchange. Many Japanese firms have already established joint ventures in North Korea. Royal Dutch/Shell as well as U.S. companies such as General Motors and AT&T have promised investment in the area.

* * *

South Korea

South Korea has emerged as one of the most successful Asian countries in the economic sector. Since the Korean War, the economy has been revitalized and greatly expanded with the aid of capital investment from the United States and Japan. The country has had a remarkably high and steady rate of economic growth. It has grown into the world's 11th biggest economy and 12th largest trading nation. In 1995, the GDP grew 9.9 percent in real terms in the first quarter and 9.6 percent in the second quarter of the year. Inflation stayed below 5 percent for most of the year. Consumer demand rose 9 percent in 1995, up from 7 percent in 1994. South Korea's major exports were cars, semiconductors and electronics, as well as steel and petrochemicals.

The 1993 per capita GNP in South Korea was $6,489.

Cheaper local and overseas funding for local companies has helped revive the local economy. Booming exports have also led South Korea to a path of steady economic growth. Manufacturing provides most of South Korea's exports. Today, emphasis is placed on industries producing high value-added items, such as petrochemicals, steel, ships, cement, and automobiles and trucks.

The South Korean labor market is no longer characterized by an abundance of labor; rather, the pool of cheap labor has shrunk to a minimum, and many labor-intensive industries have been forced to move offshore. The unemployment rate in 1993 was 2.4 percent. South Korea continues to suffer from a labor shortage in the manufacturing and construction sectors, which has led to the importing of foreign workers. Of the remaining South Korean workers, many still work inordinately long hours.

In addition to a labor shortage, the high cost of local land and money is driving South Korean firms from their own country. Yet the country's increasingly affluent population has begun to attract more foreign companies to South Korea to sell their goods and services. The demand for higher-quality goods and services has driven the rise in foreign direct investment in South Korea. One country taking advantage of this situation is Japan, mostly in manufacturing.

Despite the economic miracle in the country, there exists a strong need for reform in the political sector, as the government has faced corruption battles as well as pressure to protect consumers and curtail the power of *chaebols*—the nation's family-controlled big business conglomerates—that still dominate the economy.

President Kim Young Sam's government has attempted to continue the reform process, including a softening of restrictions on foreign investment, in order to bring the country up to the level of advanced countries such as Japan and the United States. According to the Minister of Trade, Industry and Energy, by the year 2000 about 97 percent of South Korea's economy will be open to foreign investment.

Seoul, South Korea's capital, is the principal industrial center, followed by Pusan in the south, Ulsan, and the petrochemical and steelmill town of Pohang. In infrastructural developments, South Korea recently constructed a new international airport on Yongjong-do island near Inchon city, and a high-speed railway system connecting the major cities of Seoul and Pusan.

One issue of note is the possibility of reunification with North Korea, in which case South Korea will be forced to take on the burden of the North's faltering economy, costing up to $1.2 trillion over several years to bring the North Korean economy up to the level of South Korea's economy.

Japan

Japan's economic growth in the first 20 years after World War II was accomplished by holding down wages and exporting cheap products. But today, wages and salaries in Japan are on a level similar with those of other leading industrial nations. In addition, companies in Japan provide many other benefits for their workers. A large company in Japan might provide housing for unmarried workers in company dormitories, organize and support company social clubs, help arrange a female employee's wedding, and help a worker with financing for a family home.

In 1993, Japan had an unemployment rate of 2.1 percent, one of the lowest of any of the world's nations. Skilled labor is in short supply. However, most companies invest a considerable amount in their own worker training programs, since workers in the large companies often stay with the company until retirement.

Japan has the second largest gross national product in the world and commands a large share of the world market for ships, iron and steel, automobiles, and other goods.

In 1993, Japan's per capita GNP was $27,326.

Since World War II, Japan has had a stable, democratic government. Its society is characterized by an extremely low level of social unrest and violence. An often controversial cooperation between government and industry has tended to increase the competitive advantage of Japanese products.

Japan, a nation of islands, depends on ocean transportation to obtain its necessary imports of petroleum, food, and raw materials. Partly because of this fact, most of Japan's manufacturing is concentrated along the coast near its major ports, such as Tokyo, Yokohama, Osaka, and Kobe. As a result, goods can be transported fairly cheaply by large ships to markets in North America and Europe. Japan's merchant fleet is the second largest in the world.

The Japanese, who own millions of motor vehicles, constitute one of the world's major markets for automobiles. However, a multinational auto company from the United States or Europe could expect considerable difficulty in gaining a major segment of this market. For one thing, a number of highly competitive Japanese companies already produce cars for this market. It would take an American or European firm a considerable amount of time and investment to build up the business relationships, product confidence, and service standards needed to be successful in Japan. While a few foreign auto companies, like BMW (a German automobile manufacturer), have been successful in carving out a small corner of the Japanese market, so far no company has decided to directly compete with the Japanese on their home turf by building a factory there.

Due to the difficulties of entering the Japanese market, an automobile assembly plant built by a foreign firm in Japan would have to depend on export sales, at least in its first years of operation. But exporting autos made in Japan might be a problem. Due to growing political pressures, the United States and European nations may enact quotas or other restrictions to limit automobile imports from Japan.

The profits of corporations are taxed at about the same level in Japan as in the United States. Strict and complex regulations govern the operations of companies in Japan just as in the United States. In Japan, however, the regulations are usually agreed upon after lengthy negotiations between representatives of business and government officials, rather than simply being imposed by the government.

One of the chief advantages of manufacturing in Japan has to do with the cooperative relationship between labor and management. Workers and company officials see themselves as partners working together in their common interest. Company officials involve the workers not only in production, but also in quality control and management. Companies feel a strong responsibility for their workers' welfare and happiness. As a Japanese businessman explained, "People in Japan view their company as an extension of their family. Indeed many of them equate the importance of their company with that of

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their own life." Japan has less labor unrest and fewer strikes than any other industrial nation. The cooperative relationship between the workers and the company is also partly responsible for the efficiency and product quality for which Japan has become famous.

* * *

The United States

American workers are among the highest paid in the world. Most assembly line workers in U.S. automobile factories are members of a labor union called the United Automobile Workers (UAW). They earn from $25,000 to $35,000 a year in wages. A few auto assembly plants in the United States, such as Nissan's plant in Tennessee, are not unionized. Workers at non-union automobile assembly plants make about $4,000 a year less than those who work at unionized plants. Of course, in addition to wages, U.S. auto companies pay for other benefits for workers, such as medical insurance and pensions for retired workers.

In 1993, the per capita GDP in the U.S. was $23,296.

The U.S. unemployment rate in 1993 was 7.4 percent. Unemployment in the auto industry was substantially higher, since many autoworkers laid off since 1980 had not been rehired. A new automobile assembly plant could be located in a region where there are many experienced but unemployed auto workers. There should be no problem finding an ample supply of skilled labor.

The United States is regarded as one of the world's most secure democracies. There is very little chance of a revolution or other disorder that could threaten the operation of a plant located in the United States in the foreseeable future.

The U.S. market for automobiles is the world's largest. Americans own the most motor vehicles, far more than Japan, which ranks second. One important advantage of locating an automobile assembly plant in the United States is the fact that access to the huge American market could not be threatened by import quotas or protectionist measures that the U.S. government might adopt.

All automobile assembly plants located in the United States produce primarily for the U.S. market rather than for export. The United States has a modern network of roads, railroads, airports and ports that link U.S. factories with the rest of the world. However, due to the strong dollar and the high cost of labor in the United States, U.S.-made automobiles are generally very expensive in other countries. As a result, large volumes of U.S. cars are not sold abroad and the United States imports many more automobiles than it exports.

Another drawback to locating a factory in the United States is its strict anti-trust regulations. These regulations are designed to ensure that auto companies compete with each other rather than work together to fix prices or hurt the consumer in other ways. However, the regulations also have the effect of blocking most kinds of cooperation between auto companies. A factory operating in the United States would also have to follow a number of other government regulations affecting health, safety, energy consumption, labor-management relations, pollution control, etc.

U.S. manufacturing is characterized by an adversarial relationship between labor and management. In the past, strikes have been common. However, in recent years, competition with Japanese auto manufacturers has forced U.S. auto companies and workers to improve cooperation.

Lesson 5

U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE KOREAN PENINSULA

WITH A FOCUS ON SECURITY

Organizing Questions

- What are some key policy issues regarding U.S. relations with the Korean Peninsula?
- What are the perspectives of China, Russia, the United States, Japan, South Korea, and North Korea regarding security issues and the Korean Peninsula ?

Introduction

Peace and stability depend heavily on U.S. military presence in South Korea. Today, there are approximately 37,000 U.S. military troops stationed in South Korea. It is believed that the troops are necessary in case of an attack by North Korea. To complicate the situation, it is now thought that North Korea may possess some nuclear weapons.

In this lesson, students will learn about U.S. relations with the Korean Peninsula, with a focus on security issues. Students will be involved in the development of newspapers that present perspectives from the following countries: United States, Japan, North Korea, South Korea, China, and Russia.

As a closing activity, students will examine and discuss poems and artwork by both North and South Koreans for the preservation of the demilitarized zone (DMZ)—a strip of land that divides the two Koreas.

Objectives

knowledge

- to identify and understand the complex issues involving the United States, North Korea, and South Korea
- to learn how U.S. relations with North and South Korea have an impact on the rest of the world
- to learn how U.S. military bases affect relations between the United States and North and South Korea

attitude

- to recognize varying perspectives on security, as they differ from country to country

skill

- to experience roles involved with the development of a newspaper
- to learn to appreciate and understand meaning depicted in poetry and artwork

Materials

- Handout #1, U.S. Policy on the Korean Peninsula, seven copies
- Country Information Sheets #1–6, one copy each
- Handout #2, The History of the Demilitarized Zone, one copy per student
- Handout #3, DMZ Poetry, one copy per small group
- Handout #4, DMZ Art, one copy per small group
- cardstock, glue

In this activity, students will develop newspapers that present perspectives of the following countries: United States, Japan, North Korea, South Korea, China, and Russia. A particular focus of the newspapers will be on the security issues between the United States and the two Koreas.

Procedure

1. Divide the class into six groups. Distribute one copy of Handout #1, U.S. Policy on the Korean Peninsula, to each group.
2. To set the context for the activity, have students read the handout in their groups. Students should discuss the following issues in their groups. These questions are listed on Handout #1.
   - What are the main issues regarding U.S.–Korean Peninsula relations?
   - What impact does the U.S. military presence in South Korea have on the security of the Korean Peninsula and Asia?
   - What factors determine U.S. policies toward each of the Koreas?
   - How do the various economic, political, and social factors affect each other?
3. After the discussion, have a spokesperson from each group share the group's thoughts and conclusions with the class.
4. Point out to the class that though it is the United States that has military troops in the Korean Peninsula, other countries in the region are also concerned with security issues involving North and South Korea. South Korea has a large army to defend itself as well. Russia and China, having historical and political ties to North Korea, are also interested in economic relations with South Korea.

5. Distribute one Country Information Sheet (#1–6) to each group. On each Country Information Sheet, students are provided with information to develop a newspaper that presents the country's perspective on security issues. Point out to students that this type of information becomes outdated quickly, and encourage them to utilize current periodicals, newspapers, or the Internet for accessing current information.
6. Conclude this activity by discussing the following questions:

- How are security issues affecting U.S.-Korea relations?
- How are security issues affecting U.S.-Japan relations?

Assessment Ideas

Some questions to consider when assessing students' effectiveness in developing their countries' newspapers:

- Are essential concepts well described?
- Are multiple perspectives explored?
- How well was the information synthesized, interpreted, and presented?

Follow-up Activity

Have students write editorials to the newspapers developed by the other students in the class.

In the closing activity, students will examine and discuss poetry and artwork by both North and South Koreans favoring preservation of the demilitarized zone (DMZ) for the sake of nature and for world peace. The DMZ is a 248 kilometer by 4 kilometer strip of land that divides North and South Korea. It was created under an agreement signed in 1953 under the auspices of the United Nations. No civilian has stepped foot inside the DMZ for over 40 years. The area has become a sanctuary for the flora and fauna that now flourish there.

DMZ Poetry and Art

1. Divide the class into small groups of 3 students. Distribute a copy of Handout #2, The History of the Demilitarized Zone, to each group.
2. After reading the handout, have the students in each group discuss the following questions. These questions are listed on the handout.
   - How is the perspective of the DMZ similar to or differ from those presented in the Country Information Sheets?
   - What does the President mean by "the victory of natural history"?
3. Next, distribute Handout #3, DMZ Poetry, and Handout #4, DMZ Art, to each group. Have students glue the DMZ Art to cardstock and cut out each of the pictures and assign one "postcard" to each student. Have the students read the poems on the handout and examine the artwork. Explain to the students

that they will be writing their own poetry based on the art. Have each student write a poem on the back of the postcard and give it to one other student in the class, making sure that each student receives one. The poetry should be a reflection of the images portrayed in the art pieces.

4. An option to distributing the postcards would be to create a class poetry book/anthology that can be shared by all students.

Policy Study References

Gerrit W. Gong, Seizaburo Sato, and Tae Hwan Ok, eds. *Korean Peninsula Developments and U.S.–Japan–South Korea Relations*, Volume 1. Washington, D.C.: The Center for Strategic and International Studies. 1993.

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handout #1

U.S. POLICY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA

The United States has had strong ties to the Korean Peninsula, from the time of the Korean War to the present. The United States is particularly concerned about security issues with North Korea, and North Korea is considered a possible threat to neighboring South Korea. Economically, South Korea is one of the U.S.'s top trading partners. Moreover, since the Korean War, the United States has maintained military troops in South Korea to counterbalance the threat of military attack by North Korea.

From 1910 to 1945, Korea was a colony of Japan. Following the defeat of Japan at end of World War II in 1945, the Korean Peninsula was occupied by Soviet and U.S. forces. During the years 1945-47, the United States, Soviet Union, and the two Koreas tried unsuccessfully to reunite the nation. By 1948, North and South Korea had split, and in June of 1950, North Korea invaded South Korea.

The Korean War, which spanned the years 1950 to 1953, further deepened the gap between the two countries, and caused other countries to join the conflict. While the United States supported South Korea in the fighting, China and the Soviet Union supported North Korea. Finally, in July of 1953, without a permanent peace treaty to conclude the war, an armistice was signed by both Koreas and the fighting ended. Now, the border that divides the two Koreas is the world's most heavily armed border.

It is the hope of U.S. officials that North Korea will fully participate in peace talks with the other countries and that the discussions will eventually lead to a peace agreement to "end" the Korean War. Fighting in the Korean War ended more than 40 years ago with the armistice, but there was no peace treaty ratified during that time or anytime since.

The United States has stated that North Korea has no hope of negotiating directly with Washington. The United States has declared that the rival Koreas have to negotiate directly with each other.

A major issue that concerns the United States is nuclear arms proliferation. It is believed that North Korea is maintaining and developing nuclear weapons. In October 1994, a framework agreement was signed in Geneva (the Geneva Agreement) which stipulated that the United States will be involved in the development of light-water reactors for energy production in North Korea. These new reactors are designed to replace the existing Soviet-developed plants which are capable of producing nuclear weapons-grade plutonium. Also in the agreement, North Korea promised to freeze work on and ultimately dismantle the present reactors.

In early April 1996, heavily armed troops from North Korea moved repeatedly into the demilitarized zone (DMZ)—a strip of land that separates the two Koreas. North Korea declared that with the movement into the DMZ, it was no longer recognizing the armistice, and that it wished to bargain for a new agreement only with the United States, leaving South Korea out of the process entirely.

Presently, there are 47,000 U.S. troops stationed in Japan and 37,000 in South Korea. Both the United States and Japan agree that even though the Cold War is over, the need remains for substantial U.S. forces in the Pacific. Japan will continue to support U.S. troops on Japanese soil. In particular, many U.S. officials argue that continued North Korean threats necessitate a strong U.S. presence in the region. Some U.S. analysts have argued that in the absence of a Korean threat, far fewer ground troops would be needed.

handout #1

Questions to consider:

- What are the main issues regarding U.S.–Korean Peninsula relations?

- What impact does the U.S. military presence in South Korea have on the security of the Korean Peninsula and Asia?

- What factors determine U.S. policies toward each of the Koreas?

- How do the various economic, political, and social factors affect each other?

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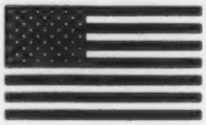
country information sheet #1



SECURITY ISSUES AND THE KOREAN PENINSULA: U.S. PERSPECTIVE

Instructions

1. Designate one or more students to the following roles for your country's newspaper:
   - editor
   - news writer
   - political cartoonist
   - op-ed writer
   - editorial writer
   - advertisement director
   - weather reporter
2. In the newspaper, it is your task to represent the views of the United States that focus on security issues in the Korean Peninsula.
3. Read the background information below.
4. Think about your country's involvement in the issues at hand. Some questions to consider are:
   - What are the factors that impact your country's relations with the Korean Peninsula?
   - What benefits might your country derive from a unified peace agreement for the peninsula?
   - Can your country contribute to the peace process in the region?

Background Information

The issue of foremost importance to the United States is security and stability on the Korean Peninsula. This concern entails curbing North Korea's missile proliferation and nuclear arms holding as well as U.S. troops that have been stationed in South Korea since the Korean War.

North Korea is believed to be involved in long-range missile proliferation activities. In addition, North Korea is believed to have been selling not only complete missile systems but also missile assembly facilities to countries such as Iran and Syria. Missile sales are a major source of hard currency for North Korea, whose isolated regime is facing severe economic problems. The United States, along with other countries in the region, is concerned that North Korea could develop even more powerful weapons which would be able to strike targets in Northeast Asia, including Japan.

In October 1994, the United States called on North Korea to freeze its nuclear program in exchange for closer relations with Washington. Subsequently, the total amount of bilateral trade between the two countries in 1995 exceeded $5 million—a 28-fold increase from the previous year.

The Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO), involving the United States, South Korea, and Japan, is considered the key to achieving the complete settlement of the North Korean nuclear issue. The organization has been providing North Korea with heavy oil, which is necessary for the production of electricity and heat in the country. The provision of this oil is in return for the North suspending operation of its existing nuclear plants which are capable of producing nuclear materials that can be used for weapons. KEDO is also working to set up nuclear light-water reactor plants in North Korea to replace the current graphite-modulate nuclear reactors.

The United States has always urged China to join the peace talks in light of China's influence over North Korea. However, some opposition exists, as critics have pointed out concerns over Chinese sales of missile technology to Pakistan, human rights abuses, and continuing trade disputes with the United States. All in all, U.S. officials agree that having China participate in the talks would improve current relations with the country as both the United States and China would be working on issues of mutual benefit.

Another issue that has taken precedence in the peace talks is the joint project to recover the remains of U.S. servicemen killed in the Korean War. It is believed that one of the reasons the United States and North Korea have increased contact recently is to work on this project.

In addition, the United States is debating the issue of economic aid to North Korea. The United States has already provided more than $2 million in aid to North Korea and has considered further easing economic sanctions against the country. The $2 million aid was channeled through a United Nations aid agency, and was "not a government-to-government relief." South Korea has persuaded the United States and Japan to delay their food assistance to North Korea for awhile until further developments occur in the peace talks. South Korea stands firm on its position that no meaningful aid to North Korea should be made before North Korea reacts favorably to the proposal for talks.

As for the U.S. military presence in South Korea, U.S. officials have repeatedly stated that the U.S. troops are there to assist South Korea against any attack by North Korea. In fact, the United States will continue to play a strong role as a stabilizing force in East Asia. The troops have been stationed in the country since the Korean War and have, at times, been a subject of controversy, as some South Koreans believe their presence is unnecessary and even problematic.

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SECURITY ISSUES AND THE KOREAN PENINSULA: JAPAN'S PERSPECTIVE

Instructions

1. Designate one or more students to the following roles for your country's newspaper:
    - editor
    - news writer
    - political cartoonist
    - op-ed writer
    - editorial writer
    - advertisement director
    - weather reporter
2. In the newspaper, it is your task to represent the views of Japan that focus on security issues in the Korean Peninsula.
3. Read the background information below.
4. Think about your country's involvement in the issues at hand. Some questions to consider are:
    - What are the factors that impact your country's relations with the Korean Peninsula?
    - What benefits might your country derive from a unified peace agreement for the peninsula?
    - Can your country contribute to the peace process in the region?

Background Information

Japan supports the peace conference and stresses the importance of tri-party cooperation between South Korea, Japan, and the United States in dealing with North Korean affairs. Japan has stated that it will promote its relations with North Korea on the basis of close coordination with other countries involved in the security issues. In addition, it has declared that Japan will not "seek to improve relations with North Korea at a faster pace than the progress in inter-Korean relations." Normalization talks between Japan and North Korea have been suspended since 1992. Some Japanese officials have hinted, however, that talks between the two countries have resumed to some extent over the issue of emergency food aid to North Korea.

Some believe, however, that Japan's approach toward North Korea is to expand its influence in the Korean Peninsula in parallel with progress in U.S.–North Korean ties. Still, some others believe that it will take considerable time before Japan and North Korea resume full diplomatic relations because other issues, such as Japan's compensation for its colonial rule over Korea, have not been settled.

country information sheet #2

According to one North Korean official, however, North Korea is seeking additional rice aid for the country and, in addition, is willing to promote economic and trade relations with Japan even before diplomatic normalization. More specifically, North Korea would like Japan to lift a ban on the export of high-tech and other advanced expertise to North Korea, remove discriminatory export insurance and tariffs, exchange trade offices, and provide know-how on the exploration of seabed oil deposits.

As one of the original members of KEDO (Korean Energy Development Organization), Japan, with South Korea, will be asked to help with maintenance of the light-water reactors which will replace North Korea's weapons-grade nuclear reactors. It is believed that the technological cooperation and personnel exchanges involved in this project would improve relations between Japan and North Korea.

Currently, Japan pays the total cost of maintaining U.S. forces in Japan, while South Korea pays a significant share of the cost of U.S. troops in South Korea.

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country information sheet #3

SECURITY ISSUES AND THE KOREAN PENINSULA: NORTH KOREA'S PERSPECTIVE

Instructions

1. Designate one or more students to the following roles for your country's newspaper:
   - editor
   - news writer
   - political cartoonist
   - op-ed writer
   - editorial writer
   - advertisement director
   - weather reporter
2. In the newspaper, it is your task to represent the views of North Korea that focus on security issues in the Korean Peninsula.
3. Read the background information below.
4. Think about your country's involvement in the issues at hand. Some questions to consider are:
   - What are the factors that impact your country's relations with the Korean Peninsula?
   - What benefits might your country derive from a unified peace agreement for the peninsula?
   - Can your country contribute to the peace process in the region?

Background Information

Since its establishment in 1948, the socialist state of North Korea has been ruled by the Communist Korean Workers' Party. However, its state presidency and other top posts have been left vacant since the death of the country's paramount leader, Kim Il Sung, in July 1994.

A major issue that has worried countries such as the United States and South Korea is nuclear proliferation. In 1991, North and South Korea negotiated an agreement to not acquire nuclear arms, nuclear fuel reprocessing, or uranium-enrichment capabilities, and to establish a joint commission to inspect sites in both countries. Since then, North Korea has been unwilling to allow full international inspection of its nuclear facilities, causing much friction to the already unsteady relations between the North and the South. In addition, North Korea has expressed intentions to withdraw from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

One reason North Korea may be maintaining nuclear arms is to counter a possible South Korean nuclear capability. North Korea's Central Broadcasting Station announced that it is the nature of the People's Army and "the firm will of the republic" to "answer fire with fire and a stick with a stick." In April 1996, the country reviewed the reasons for withdrawing from the Korean Armistice Agreement, claiming that South Korea, with the support of the United States, has brought machine guns, heavy weapons, and armed troops into the DMZ. According to the country, the Armistice Agreement stipulates that no heavy and automatic weapons and no more than 1,000 military personnel shall be brought into the DMZ.

North Korea wants to negotiate a bilateral peace treaty with the United States while leaving out South Korea in the process. It has been suggested that North Korea needs a strong relationship with the United States in order to develop international trade. North Korean officials want to export zinc in exchange for hard currency to bolster their economy. At the moment, U.S. law only permits the import of a single North Korean mineral, magnesite, used to coat the inside of steel blast furnaces.

Currently, due to the collapse of the socialist trade bloc, the country is seeking changes in its external economic policy. According to North Korean officials, the transition from simple barter trade with its former communist partners to complicated forms of business with capitalist nations is needed to promote exports to and obtain advanced technology from foreign countries. For example, North Korea has urged Japan to lift a ban on the export of high-tech and other advanced expertise to North Korea, in addition to other requests which would allow it to participate eventually in the world market economy. However, officials state that North Korea is not abandoning its *juche* policy of promoting a self-sufficient national economy.

Currently, food shortage is a major concern in North Korea as an estimated 130,000 families, or 500,000 people, are at serious risk. According to the UN World Food Program (WFP), the shortages appear to be worsening. North Korea has asked countries including the United States and Japan to assist with the food problem. In June 1995, after the North was ravaged by floods, South Korea offered $200 million worth of food aid. The United States has already given more than $2 million in aid to the country. Likewise, Japan has also extended its assistance by furnishing rice to the country. However, both South Korea and Japan have stated that they are seriously considering additional food aid to North Korea, but are taking a "wait-and-see" attitude due to North Korea's lack of commitment to peace in the Korean Peninsula.

In early April 1996, North Korean troops moved into the demilitarized zone three times, in an attempt to prove that the 1953 Korean Armistice Agreement (which ended the Korean War) was no longer viable. Again in May, several North Korean soldiers entered the DMZ and fired shots in the air before retreating. North Korea spends a quarter of its gross domestic product on its military. Two-thirds of the People's Army is deployed just along and north of the border separating the two Koreas.

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country information sheet #4

SECURITY ISSUES AND THE KOREAN PENINSULA: SOUTH KOREA'S PERSPECTIVE

Instructions

1. Designate one or more students to the following roles for your country's newspaper:
   - editor
   - news writer
   - political cartoonist
   - op-ed writer
   - editorial writer
   - advertisement director
   - weather reporter
2. In the newspaper, it is your task to represent the views of South Korea that focus on security issues in the Korean Peninsula.
3. Read the background information below.
4. Think about your country's involvement in the issues at hand. Some questions to consider are:
   - What are the factors that impact your country's relations with the Korean Peninsula?
   - What benefits might your country derive from a unified peace agreement for the peninsula?
   - Can your country contribute to the peace process in the region?

Background Information

South Korea calls for security dialogue in the Asia-Pacific region and more specifically for the participation of North Korea in the peace talks. Peace is important in the Korean Peninsula for security and stability in all of Asia, according to the president of South Korea. According to him, "it is North Korea that would benefit the most if the talks come through."

North and South Korea have been separated since 1948. South Korea demands that the 1953 Korean Armistice Agreement, which ended the Korean War, be maintained until it is replaced with a peace treaty signed by the two Koreas and endorsed by other countries such as the United States and China. Meanwhile, North Korea has stated that it is entitled to act in self-defense because the South was bringing heavy weapons and armed troops into the DMZ.

According to South Korea's ambassador to the United States, the reunification of Korea is inevitable, and it is not a matter of if, but rather a matter of how and when the two countries will reunite. Once reunited, Korea would become a nation of approximately 70 million people, and would probably become an even more important trading and security partner with the United States. In his opinion, the people of a reunified Korea would support a continued U.S. military presence on the peninsula to help maintain regional stability and to balance the massive military presence of China in the area. Despite past student demonstrations calling for the removal of the bases, the South Korean government remains militarily dependent on Washington to forestall any military action by North Korea.

Still, some South Koreans are tired of the role of "apprentice nation" or "little brother" that they have played since the Korean War. They say that the country deserves the same respect the United States shows other important allies such as Japan.

Reunification is considered a real possibility due to the political instability created by the death of North Korea's longtime leader, Kim Il Sung, in 1994, and the widening economic gap between North and South Korea. Currently, it is believed that the South and North Korean economic ratio is at least 20 to 1. South Korea is in a financial position to be able to help North Korea in its economic hardships. South Korea recently surpassed Germany to rank as the U.S.'s fifth largest trading partner. In contrast, North Korea is considered a "loner" in the world market.

In 1995, South Korea provided emergency rice aid to North Korea, though the shipment was never officially acknowledged by the North. The second round of assistance, in an agreement with the North, called for 150,000 tons of emergency rice aid at no charge. South Korea hoped that this would prevent further deterioration in inter-Korea relations.

Further assistance to the North is expected by the year 2003, when two nuclear power plants from Seoul will be set up in North Korea. The project is being organized by the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO), an international consortium comprising the United States, South Korea, Japan, and other interested countries. North Korea has agreed to stop operations in the Soviet-developed plants which are capable of producing nuclear materials that can be used for weapons. South Korea is the country primarily responsible for the building and funding of the two nuclear power plants. Hundreds of engineers and supervisors from South Korea are expected to cross the DMZ to North Korea for the purpose of overseeing the project.

South Korea believes China is capable of analyzing more accurately what North Korea's intentions are. South Korea's relations with the People's Republic of China have been normalized since 1992. South Korea is continuing to place great importance on stable relations with China as well as with Japan, Russia, and the United States.

country information sheet #5

SECURITY ISSUES AND THE KOREAN PENINSULA: RUSSIA'S PERSPECTIVE

Instructions

1. Designate one or more students to the following roles for your country's newspaper:
    - editor
    - news writer
    - political cartoonist
    - op-ed writer
    - editorial writer
    - advertisement director
    - weather reporter
2. In the newspaper, it is your task to represent the views of Russia that focus on security issues in the Korean Peninsula.
3. Read the background information below.
4. Think about your country's involvement in the issues at hand. Some questions to consider are:
    - What are the factors that impact your country's relations with the Korean Peninsula?
    - What benefits might your country derive from a unified peace agreement for the peninsula?
    - Can your country contribute to the peace process in the region?

Background Information

Russia believes that the problem in the Korean Peninsula should be settled on a multilateral basis, taking into account the interests of all parties involved. The country is seeking the development of balanced relations with North and South Korea, which will help maintain stability and security in the Korean Peninsula. The country hopes to further the development of cooperation with South Korea, but at the same time, not let that impede relations with the North.

In August of 1995, relations between Russia and South Korea achieved a major breakthrough in an agreement by both countries to provide sites for their respective embassies. In addition, having normalized relations with South Korea since 1991, Russia has been eager for South Korea to expand investment in Russia. South Korea has shown particular interest in commercializing some of Russia's high technologies, including those related to aircraft production and laser science. As of the end of 1995, South Korean investments amounted to $50 million—a sum Russia believes is too small.

Russia's efforts to recover ties with its old ally, North Korea, have brought about only a few substantial results as North Korea is giving priority to improving relations with the United States and Japan. In September 1995, Russia notified North Korea of its decision to discard a 1961 treaty on friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance, signifying the end of decades of socialist alliance with North Korea. Still, Russia considers its relations with both North and South Korea an integral part of the peacekeeping system in the Korean Peninsula.

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country information sheet #6

SECURITY ISSUES AND THE KOREAN PENINSULA: CHINA'S PERSPECTIVE

Instructions

1. Designate one or more students to the following roles for your country's newspaper:
   - editor
   - news writer
   - political cartoonist
   - op-ed writer
   - editorial writer
   - advertisement director
   - weather reporter
2. In the newspaper, it is your task to represent the views of China that focus on security issues in the Korean Peninsula.
3. Read the background information below.
4. Think about your country's involvement in the issues at hand. Some questions to consider are:
   - What are the factors that impact your country's relations with the Korean Peninsula?
   - What benefits might your country derive from a unified peace agreement for the peninsula?
   - Can your country contribute to the peace process in the region?

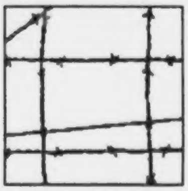
Background Information

Due to historical and political ties with the North Korean regime, China has considerable influence over North Korea. In the past, China has been used by U.S. diplomats to carry messages to North Korea. In addition, China has been credited with helping stop North Korea's efforts to build nuclear weapons.

In light of this, the other countries involved in the peace talks have placed new hope in the efforts to negotiate a unified peace agreement. With China's involvement in the peace process, pressure on North Korea to resume dialogue with South Korea may increase, and relations between the United States and China may also improve at the same time.

China has declared that as one of the countries that signed the Korean Armistice Agreement (which ended the Korean War), it wants to play a constructive role in maintaining peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula. It has also suggested that Seoul (capital of South Korea) and Pyongyang (capital of North Korea) will have to settle their own differences before outside powers become involved in the talks.

handout #2



THE HISTORY OF THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE[*]

The demilitarized zone (DMZ) acts as a buffer area between North Korea and South Korea. Near the DMZ, coils of wire wind alongside highways and through rice fields to discourage infiltrators. Every few yards, a barricade of sandbags surrounds an artillery emplacement draped in camouflage. Squads of American and South Korean soldiers in full combat gear, sometimes carrying automatic rifles with fixed bayonets, jog along village streets.

Although no major confrontations have occurred in the DMZ for years, 50 Americans and 500 South Koreans, as well as North Korean soldiers, have died there since 1953.

The President of South Korea, in his "Presidential Vision for Environmental Welfare, for the Construction of an Environmental Community that Lives in Harmony with Nature" address, stated that among the basic principles for the construction of an environmental community, is that of "North-South environmental cooperation and global collaboration." He stated that to conserve the land, environmental cooperation between the North and South should be strengthened.

"This great part that is the resting place of numerous entangled spirits should be forever preserved as a spiritual place for the people of the world. This area is a sacred site of human history that was formed by this land's struggle with the powerful waves of foreign intervention. It also symbolizes the victory of natural history against meaningless wars and irresponsible development."

Questions for Discussion:

- How is the perspective of the DMZ similar to or differ from those presented in the Country Information Sheets?

- What does the President mean by "the victory of natural history"?

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[*] Reprinted with permission from Lee Bann, *A Documentation in Korea; Front DMZ: Past, Present, and Future* (Seoul: Institute of the Fine Arts Movement for the Abolishment of the Demilitarized Zone, 1995).

DMZ POETRY

The poem "The Truce Line" was written by Park Pong-u (1934–1990). The "truce line" is another name for the border separating North and South Korea. The poem was written in 1957.

The second poem was written by Lee Bann (1940–), Professor at Ducksung Women's University, College of Fine Arts, Department of Painting. Professor Lee is the Chairman of the Committee for Front DMZ Art and Culture Movement. Some of his art is depicted on Handout #4, DMZ Art.

The Truce Line*

by Park Pong-u

Mountains face each other; distrusting eyes look at each other
with a glare. Aware that the volcano will explode any day like
a thunderbolt from the dark, should we remain feckless as frail flowers?

The chill landscapes stare upon each other. Shall we hear no more
in this sweet land the brave mind sung of our ancestors and
the heroic legends of ancient kingdoms? The stars above can happily
share the same old skies; only we are torn apart, unable
to shed the slough of suffering, the gnawings of agony.

Blood has ceased to bathe the country; we stand here where
no single tree is safe to grow. Our old wounds still hurt us;
are we having a short recess or plying with empty talks?

O viper-tongue wind full of hate, will you bring us to bear
the rigors of another winter? How long can these frail flowers
endure living out their lives? Is this the only fair choice
left to us to make?

Mountains face each other; distrusting eyes look at each other
with a glare. Aware that this volcano will explode any day
like a thunderbolt from the dark, should we remain feckless
as frail flowers?

---

* Reprinted from Jaihuin Kim, ed., *Contemporary Korean Poetry* (Ontario: Mosaic Press, 1994). p. 104.

handout #3

A Poem about the Preservation and Demolition of the DMZ[*]

by Lee Bann

The land of pain, the history of disgrace
The space of silence, the land of breathing
DMZ is alive with its wing of 248X4

The land of life, the mystery of nature
The heritage of summons, the womb of dignity
The light of hope, the strength of nation

The happy symptom, the message of meeting
The dream of mankind, the land of peace
The desire for unification, the wish of our nation
The exploration of wisdom, the creative construction
The torchlight of unification, when that day comes
With-its joint road, shortcut, and new way, south and north is one

Lanes with flowers of four colors
The land of affluence, the forest of glory
The wing of the future, the echo of love

The space of meditation, the space of exploration
The space of meeting, the space of harmony
The space of unification, the space of peace
The space of festival, the space of the world

Moon, moon, the moon of DMZ 248kmX4km
Let the dirty desire be perished

(translated by Lee Jong Seung)

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[*] Reprinted with permission from Lee Bann, *A Documentation in Korea; Front DMZ: Past, Present, and Future* (Seoul: Institute of the Fine Arts Movement for the Abolishment of the Demilitarized Zone). The poem has no title.

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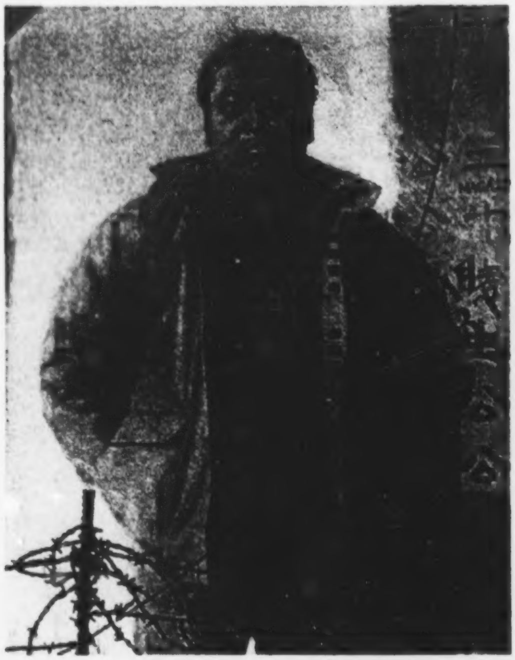
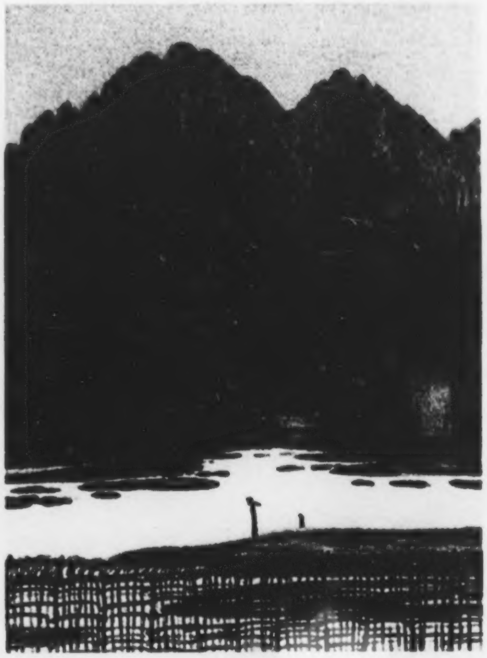
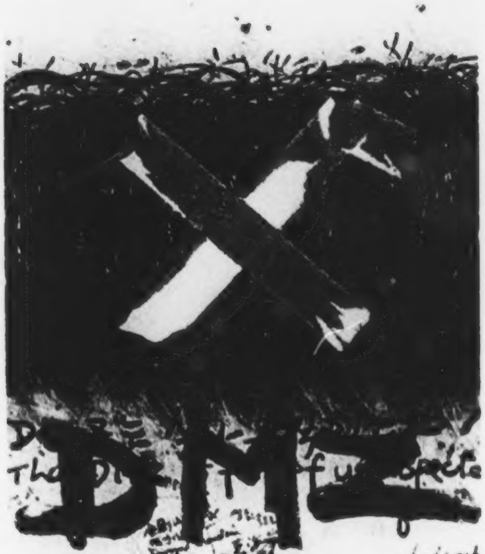
handout #4

DMZ ART







Lesson 6

JAPANESE RELATIONS WITH THE KOREAN PENINSULA

WITH A FOCUS ON CIVIL RIGHTS OF KOREANS IN JAPAN

Organizing Questions

- What are civil rights?
- How does the issue of civil rights of Koreans in Japan affect relations between Japan and the Korean Peninsula?

Introduction

At present, there are approximately 700,000 Koreans living in Japan. The presence of a large ethnic minority of Koreans in Japan is mainly a legacy of Japanese colonialism. As students will learn in this lesson, the Korean community's experience in Japan has greatly impacted Japanese relations with the Korean Peninsula.

The purpose of this lesson is to introduce civil rights to students, and to show that, at times, they are defined differently according to each country. In addition, the lesson will demonstrate how an issue such as civil rights can influence relations between countries.

The opening activity introduces students to the concept of civil rights by having the students read and discuss the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Activity Two explores the issue of identity as students read poetry and personal narratives written by Koreans in Japan. Finally, in Activity Three, students are asked to examine a renowned court case between a Korean national and a major Japanese company. After studying the case, students will develop their own moot court using the information provided for the activity.

Objectives

knowledge

- to understand the concept of civil rights, and how they influence relations between countries
- to learn about how the Korean community residing in Japan affects relations between Japan and the Korean Peninsula
- to learn about the issues of legal rights, education, and identity, for Koreans living in Japan

attitude

- to recognize varying perspectives on civil rights, as they differ from country to country

skill

- to analyze both factual information and personal accounts critically and objectively
- to experience a moot court, in which students playing various roles simulate a court trial
- to utilize understandings and conclusions reached in the lesson to think critically and effectively about civil rights in the United States

Materials

- Dictionary Definition of Civil Rights, overhead transparency
- Preamble to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, overhead transparency
- Articles 1, 2, 3, one copy
- Articles 4, 5, one copy
- Articles 6, 7, 8, one copy
- Articles 9, 10, 11, one copy
- Articles 12, 13, one copy
- Article 14, one copy
- Articles 15, 16, 17, one copy
- Articles 18, 19, one copy
- Articles 20, 21, 22, one copy
- Articles 23, 24, one copy
- Articles 25, 26, 27, one copy
- Handout #1, Brief History of Koreans in Japan, one copy per student
- Questionnaire Responses, overhead transparency
- Poem #1, "I Am a Korean," one copy per group
- Poem #2, "I Want to Be a Japanese," one copy per group
- Handout #2, Personal Narratives, one copy per group, optional
- Handout #3, Pak Chong-sok vs. The Hitachi Company (1974), one copy per student
- List of Moot Court Roles, for the teacher
- Handout #4, Procedures for Lawyers, one copy per group
- Handout #5, Procedures for Bailiff, one copy
- Handout #6, Background on the Legal Status of Koreans in Japan, one copy per group

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In this opening activity, students will discuss the term "civil rights" and what its relevancy is to their lives. By studying the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the students will grasp an understanding of what civil and political rights are, and how they are explained in such universal laws.

Students will work in small groups to discuss and ultimately share with the class the various articles in the covenant, and relate these rights to their own lives by discussing their own experiences and understandings of civil and political rights.

Procedure—Activity One

1. Begin by asking students to define "civil rights." Ask them what they think of when they hear the term "civil rights." Do they think of some historical figures? past movements? recent news events? Next, show them the transparency, Dictionary Definition of Civil Rights. As a class, discuss what kind of rights the dictionary definition includes.
2. Present the preamble to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights on a transparency to the class. Have a student read the preamble to the rest of the class. Discuss the meaning and the message of the preamble.
3. Next, students will study the body of the covenant within groups. Divide the class into 11 small groups of 2 or 3 students. Pass out one of the 11 groups of articles to each group.
4. Have the students discuss Articles #1–27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights within their groups. In their discussions, have them focus on the following questions. These questions are listed on each of the handouts.
    - What civil or political right does the article declare?
    - Do you think the civil or political right defined in the article is applicable internationally? Why or why not?
    - What personal experiences, knowledge, or understanding do you have about this right?

    Students should be prepared to share this with the rest of the class.
5. Going in the order of the articles (Articles #1-27), have each group make a brief presentation about their articles. Inform the students that they must share with the class both the meaning of each article as well as their own understanding and experience with the particular civil or political right in the article.

In this activity, students will read and discuss poetry and personal narratives written by Koreans in Japan. All of these writings deal with the issue of identity as a member of a minority group in Japan. After analyzing these pieces in small groups, students will work individually to create their own expressions of self-identity.

Procedure—Activity Two Part I

1. Divide the class into small groups of 3 or 4 students. Distribute Handout #1, Brief History of Koreans in Japan, to each group. Have the groups read and discuss the handout among their groups. Based on the Articles #1–27 they have discussed, make a list of the civil rights issues Koreans in Japan have faced in the past or continue to face. This can be done in small groups or as a whole class.

   During the discussion, point out that the civil rights issues Koreans in Japan have faced in the past or continue to face presently have deeply affected Japanese relations with the Korean Peninsula. In particular, note the following:

   - The presence of a large ethnic minority of Koreans in Japan is mainly a legacy of Japanese colonialism. Japan's colonization of Korea from 1910 to 1945 continues to be a source of deep tension between Japan and the Korean Peninsula.
   - The legal and social barriers facing Koreans in Japan continue to be sore spots between Japan and the Korean Peninsula.

2. Show the transparency, Questionnaire Responses. Explain to the students that this is a questionnaire that was sent to a group of Korean students in Japanese high schools. Discuss the answers to the questionnaire as a class. What can students infer from these responses?

3. Distribute Poem #1, "I Am a Korean," and Poem #2, "I Want to Be a Japanese," to each group. Have selected students in each group read both poems to their group. Have students in groups discuss the following questions, which are included under Poem #2.

   - What message is the author of each poem conveying?
   - What significance does changing names have for the Koreans in Japan?
   - What issues might arise for the author of Poem #1 if she keeps her Korean name and continues to live in Japan?
   - If the author of Poem #2 continues to use her Japanese name, what impact might it have on her identity as a Korean?
   - In what ways would your life change if you had to change your name to a new one which is ethnically different from yours?
   - Discuss civil rights issues presented in the poems.

Optional

4. Distribute Handout #2, Personal Narratives, to each group. Have a student in each group read the personal narratives to his/her group.
5. Have students in groups discuss the following. These are listed on the handout.
    - What are the issues being addressed in each perspective?
    - Why is the author of Perspective #1 struggling with his identity?
    - Why does the author of Perspective #2 say he will "become different from the Koreans living in Korea"?
    - How do you think the author of Perspective #3 will educate his children? Will he teach them to appreciate Japanese culture or Korean culture or both?

Activity Two Part II

1. Working individually, have the students reflect on their own experiences (or experiences of people they know) involving a violation of civil rights. Remind them of Activity One, in which they discussed civil rights. In their reflections, have them consider the following questions:
    - What civil right(s) was(were) violated in the experience?
    - How did the experience affect your own (or your friend's) identity?
2. Next, explain to the students that they are to create a piece of work that expresses the experience. For example, they may choose to write or make one of the following:
    - poetry
    - painting
    - collage
    - journal entry
    - lyrics to a song
    - short story
    - one-act play
3. Allow one class period (or more) for this activity.
4. After the pieces are finished, have each student share his/her work with the class.

In this two-part activity, students will first study a real court case which took place in Japan. The court case had a profound impact on Japanese relations with the Korean Peninsula, receiving widespread news coverage in both South and North Korea. Students will have the opportunity to simulate the court trial, in moot court fashion, with some students playing various roles in court and the remainder of the class acting as the audience (jury). The purpose for this activity is not necessarily to reach a concrete conclusion or decision about the case, but rather to form and express opinions and arguments about civil rights for both parties involved in the case. Point out to students that "U.S. court proceedings" are very roughly followed in this activity—not Japanese court proceedings. In Japan, there are no separate municipal, county, state, or federal judicial systems as in the United States and a jury system does not exist. In Japan, courts on all levels are parts of a single system under the sole and complete administration of the Supreme Court.

Procedure—Activity Three Part I

1. Select students to play the various roles of the court. Refer to the List of Moot Court Roles. The remaining students will be assigned as the audience (jury) in the case.
2. Distribute copies of Handout #3, Pak Chong-sok vs. The Hitachi Company (1974), to each student. Distribute Handout #4, Procedures for Lawyers, to each of the lawyers in the case. Distribute Handout #5 to the bailiff of the court.
3. Have the lawyers on both sides prepare their oral arguments for the case, and have the audience (jury) members and judges review the information on Handout #3, Pak Chong-sok vs. The Hitachi Company (1974).
4. Have the jury members discuss the court case in small groups of 3 or 4 students. Judges may also wish to discuss the court case as a group. All students should keep the following questions in mind. These are listed on Handout #3.
    - Why did Pak use his Japanese name in applying for the job at Hitachi?
    - Do you think not using his Korean name was the right thing to do? What would you have done?
    - How do you think the boycott of Hitachi products influenced people's opinions about the case? about the treatment of Koreans in Japan in general?
    - Why did Pak refuse to settle out of court?
    - What civil rights were violated in this case?
    - How does Pak's determination to settle the case in court and his subsequent decision to work at Hitachi affect the Korean people's view of civil rights in Japan?

Activity Three
Part II

1. Organize the classroom to simulate a courtroom, with a judge's stand in the front of room facing the audience, and the plaintiff and defendant tables placed side by side, in the middle of the room, and facing the judge. The audience should be seated in the back of the room, also facing the judge.
2. Begin the court session by having the bailiff ask everyone, except the judges, to take their proper seats. The bailiff then announces the presence of the judges, at which time everyone in the room should rise from their seats. After the judges are seated, everyone may be seated. The hearing is called to order.
3. The judge asks the prosecution to summarize their arguments in their opening remarks. Allow 10 minutes for the remarks. The judge may interrupt to ask clarifying questions.
4. Next, the judge asks the defense to summarize their arguments in their opening remarks. Allow 10 minutes for the remarks. The judge may interrupt to ask clarifying questions.
5. After the opening statements have been made by both parties, allow for a 10 to 15 minute recess in which the lawyers may discuss and construct rebuttals. The audience (jury) should discuss among themselves the opening arguments that were just presented by the lawyers on both sides.
6. Have the bailiff call order in the court and resume the trial.
7. Begin the second half of the trial by having the defendant's lawyers present their rebuttals. The judge should offer the defense 5 minutes to rebut the prosecution's opening arguments. It is not to be used to raise new issues.
8. Then, follow with the prosecution's rebuttals. Again, the judge should allow 5 minutes for the remarks.
9. After all the rebuttals have been made by both sides, allow for another 10 to 15 minute recess in which the lawyers should formulate their closing statements.
10. Again, have the bailiff call order in the court and resume the trial.
11. Have the prosecution make their closing statements to the court. Allow 5 to 10 minutes for the statements.
12. Have the defense make their closing statements. Allow 5 to 10 minutes for the statements.
13. After the closing statements have been presented by both sides, allow for a final 10 to 15 minute recess. At this time, the judges will discuss and reach a conclusion (verdict) for the case.

    The audience (jury) should also deliberate and reach a conclusion for the case.
14. After the verdict is in, have the bailiff call order in the court.
15. At this time, the judges should announce the verdict in court. Also, have the audience (jury) present their conclusion to the court.

16. As a final step, have the bailiff or judges read the real verdict reached in the case, as follows:

> The dispute was finally settled in court in June 1974. The judge read the decision that "the court finds no apparent reason, other than the factor of ethnic discrimination, why the defendant rescinded the contract to hire the plaintiff in the case." As to the plaintiff's use of his Japanese name, there was neither malignant motive nor any harm inflicted upon the contending party. Rather, "the court's sympathy rests with the motive of the plaintiff," because it was Japanese society that compelled him to act in the way he did to avoid the discrimination against Koreans. Therefore, stated the judge, "the rescission of the initial hiring notice should be construed as an arbitrary breach of the labor contract, which was a violation of Article 3 of the Labor Standard Act and Article 90 of the Civil Code of Japan."

Closing Summary

In this lesson, students discussed civil rights and specifically examined civil rights issues surrounding the Korean experience in Japan. The treatment of Koreans in Japan has historically been a source of great tension between Japan and the Korean Peninsula. The legacy of Japanese colonialism and the legal and social barriers still facing Koreans in Japan continue to have a strong impact on policy issues between Japan and the Korean Peninsula. The renowned Pak Chong-sok vs. The Hitachi Company (1974) case stimulated the struggle to abolish discrimination against Koreans in Japan among the Korean resident groups of Japan affiliated with both South Korea and North Korea, and among Japanese citizen groups as well.

Assessment

A suggested assessment approach to use in this lesson is a reflective journal, in which students record their attitudes toward the concepts and information provided in this lesson. Civil rights may be a very sensitive area for some. You may consider having students identify certain sections of their journals for teacher and/or other students' comments.

Teachers might also consider having students research civil rights issues of a particular ethnic group in the United States, and examine the impact this has had on the U.S.'s relations with the ethnic group's country of origin.

Policy Study References

Gerrit W. Gong, Seizaburo Sato, and Tae Hwan Ok, eds. *Korean Peninsula Developments and U.S.–Japan–South Korea Relations*, Volume 1. Washington, D.C.: The Center for Strategic and International Studies. 1993.

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DICTIONARY DEFINITION OF CIVIL RIGHTS

Civil Rights:

Personal, natural rights guaranteed and protected by a constitution, e.g., freedom of speech, press, freedom from discrimination, etc.

Source: Henry Campbell Black, *Black's Law Dictionary*, Sixth Edition (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Company, 1990).

INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS

On December 16, 1966, the United Nations General Assembly adopted important human rights documents, one of which is called the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

Preamble

The States Parties to the present Covenant,

Considering that, in accordance with the principles proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations, recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world,

Recognizing that these rights derive from the inherent dignity of the human person,

Recognizing that, in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the ideal of free human beings enjoying civil and political freedom and freedom from fear and want can only be achieved if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his civil and political rights, as well as his economic, social, and cultural rights,

Considering the obligation of States under the Charter of the United Nations to promote universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and freedoms,

Realizing that the individual, having duties to other individuals and to the community to which he belongs, is under a responsibility to strive for the promotion and observance of the rights recognized in the present Covenant,

Agree upon the following articles:

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ARTICLES 1, 2, AND 3

Article 1: Self-Determination

1. All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural development.
2. All peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic cooperation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence.

Article 2: Equal Protection of Rights in the Covenant

1. Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to respect and to ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in the present Covenant, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.
2. Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes:
    a. To ensure that any person whose rights or freedoms as herein recognized are violated shall have an effective remedy, not withstanding that the violation has been committed by persons acting in an official capacity;
    b. To ensure that any person claiming such a remedy shall have his right thereto determined by competent judicial, administrative or legislative authorities, or by any competent authority provided for by the legal system of the State, and to develop the possibilities of judicial remedy;
    c. To ensure that the competent authorities shall enforce such remedies when granted.

Article 3: Equal Rights of Men and Women

The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to ensure the equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all civil and political rights set forth in the present Covenant.

Questions for Discussion

Discuss the following questions and a prepare brief 3–5 minute presentation for the rest of the class.

- What civil or political right does each article declare?

- Do you think the civil or political right defined in each article is applicable internationally? Why or why not?

- What personal experiences, knowledge, or understanding do you have about these rights?

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ARTICLES 4 AND 5

Article 4: States of Emergency

1. In time of public emergency which threatens the life of the nation and the existence of which is officially proclaimed, the States Parties to the present Covenant may take measures derogating from their obligations under the present Covenant to the extent strictly required by the exigencies of the situation, provided that such measures are not inconsistent with their other obligations under international law and do not involve discrimination solely on the ground of race, colour, sex, language, religion, or social origin.

Article 5: Nonderogable Nature of Fundamental Rights

1. Nothing in the present Covenant may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms recognized herein or at their limitation to a greater extent than is provided for in the present Covenant.
2. There shall be no restriction upon or derogation from any of the fundamental human rights recognized or existing in any State Party to the present Covenant pursuant to law, conventions, regulations or custom on the pretext that the present Covenant does not recognize such rights or that it recognizes them to a lesser extent.

Questions for Discussion

Discuss the following questions and prepare a brief 3–5 minute presentation for the rest of the class.

- What civil or political right does each article declare?

- Do you think the civil or political right defined in each article is applicable internationally? Why or why not?

- What personal experiences, knowledge, or understanding do you have about these rights?

ARTICLES 6, 7, AND 8

Article 6: Right to Life

1. Every human being has the inherent right to life. This right shall be protected by law. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life.
2. In countries which have not abolished the death penalty, sentence of death may be imposed only for the most serious crimes in accordance with the law in force at the time of the commission of the crime and not contrary to the provisions of the present Covenant and to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. This penalty can only be carried out pursuant to a final judgment rendered by a competent court.
3. Anyone sentenced to death shall have the right to seek pardon or commutation of the sentence. Amnesty, pardon or commutation of the sentence of death may be granted in all cases.
4. Sentence of death shall not be imposed for crimes committed by persons below eighteen years of age and shall not be carried out on pregnant women.
5. Nothing in this article shall be invoked to delay or to prevent the abolition of capital punishment by any State Party to the present Covenant.

Article 7: Freedom from Torture or Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

1. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. In particular, no one shall be subjected without his free consent to medical or scientific experimentation.

Article 8: Prohibition of Slavery

1. No one shall be held in slavery; slavery and the slave-trade in all their forms shall be prohibited.
2. No one shall be held in servitude.
3. a. No one shall be required to perform forced or compulsory labour;

   b. Paragraph 3a shall not be held to preclude, in countries where imprisonment with hard labour may be imposed as a punishment for a crime, the performance of hard labour in pursuance of a sentence to such punishment by a competent court.

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Questions for Discussion

Discuss the following questions and prepare a brief 3–5 minute presentation for the rest of the class.

- What civil or political right does each article declare?
- Do you think the civil or political right defined in each article is applicable internationally? Why or why not?
- What personal experiences, knowledge, or understanding do you have about these rights?

ARTICLES 9, 10, AND 11

Article 9: Liberty and Security of Person

1. Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention. No one shall be deprived of his liberty except on such grounds and in accordance with such procedure as are established by law.
2. Anyone who is arrested shall be informed, at the time of arrest, of the reasons for his arrest and shall be promptly informed of any charges against him.
3. Anyone arrested or detained on a criminal charge shall be brought promptly before a judge or other officer authorized by law to exercise judicial power and shall be entitled to trial within a reasonable time or to release.
4. Anyone who is deprived of his liberty by arrest or detention shall be entitled to take proceedings before a court, in order that the court may decide without delay on the lawfulness of his detention and order his release if the detention is not lawful.
5. Anyone who has been the victim of unlawful arrest or detention shall have an enforceable right to compensation.

Article 10: Treatment of Persons Deprived of Their Liberty

1. All persons deprived of their liberty shall be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person.
2. a. Accused persons shall, save in exceptional circumstances, be segregated from convicted persons and shall be subject to separate treatment appropriate to their status as unconvicted persons;
   b. Accused juvenile persons shall be separated from adults and brought as speedily as possible for adjudication.
3. The penitentiary system shall comprise treatment of prisoners the essential aim of which shall be their reformation and social rehabilitation. Juvenile offenders shall be segregated from adults and be accorded treatment appropriate to their age and legal status.

Article 11: Freedom from Imprisonment for Breach of Contractual Obligation

1. No one shall be imprisoned merely on the ground of inability to fulfill a contractual obligation.

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Questions for Discussion

Discuss the following questions and prepare a brief 3–5 minute presentation for the rest of the class.

- What civil or political right does each article declare?
- Do you think the civil or political right defined in each article is applicable internationally? Why or why not?
- What personal experiences, knowledge, or understanding do you have about these rights?

ARTICLES 12 AND 13

Article 12: Freedom of Movement

1. Everyone lawfully within the territory of a State shall, within that territory, have the right to liberty of movement and freedom to choose his residence.
2. Everyone shall be free to leave any country, including his own.
3. The above-mentioned rights shall not be subject to any restrictions except those which are provided by law, are necessary to protect national security, public order, public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others, and are consistent with the other rights recognized in the present Covenant.
4. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of the right to enter his own country.

Article 13: Expulsion of Aliens

1. An alien lawfully in the territory of a State Party to the present Covenant may be expelled therefrom only in pursuance of a decision reached in accordance with law and shall, except where compelling reasons of national security otherwise require, be allowed to submit the reasons against his expulsion and to have his case reviewed by, and be represented for the purpose before, the competent authority or a person or persons especially designated by the competent authority.

Questions for Discussion

Discuss the following questions and prepare a brief 3–5 minute presentation for the rest of the class.

- What civil or political right does each article declare?
- Do you think the civil or political right defined in each article is applicable internationally? Why or why not?
- What personal experiences, knowledge, or understanding do you have about these rights?

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ARTICLE 14

Article 14: Right to Fair Trial

1. All persons shall be equal before the courts and tribunals. In the determination of any criminal charge against him, or of his rights and obligations in a suit at law, everyone shall be entitled to a fair and public hearing by a competent, independent and impartial tribunal established by law.
2. Everyone charged with a criminal offence shall have the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty according to law.
3. In the determination of any criminal charge against him, everyone shall be entitled to the following minimum guarantees, in full equality:
    a. To be informed promptly and in detail in a language which he understands of the nature and cause of the charge against him;
    b. To have adequate time and facilities for the preparation of his defence and to communicate with counsel of his own choosing;
    c. To be tried without undue delay;
    d. To be tried in his presence, and to defend himself in person or through legal assistance of his own choosing; to be informed, if he does not have legal assistance of this right; and to have legal assistance assigned to him, in any case where interests of justice so require, and without payment by him in any such case if he does not have sufficient means to pay for it;
    e. To examine, or have examined, the witnesses against him and to obtain the attendance and examination of witnesses on his behalf under the same conditions as witnesses against him;
    f. To have the free assistance of an interpreter if he cannot understand or speak the language used in court;
    g. Not to be compelled to testify against himself or to confess guilt.
4. In the case of juvenile persons, the procedure shall be such as will take account of their age and the desirability of promoting their rehabilitation.
5. Everyone convicted of a crime shall have the right to his conviction and sentence being reviewed by a higher tribunal according to law.
6. When a person has by a final decision been convicted of a criminal offence and when subsequently his conviction has been reversed or he has been pardoned on the ground that a new or newly discovered fact shows conclusively that there has been a miscarriage of justice, the person who has suffered punishment as a result of such conviction shall be compensated according to law, unless it is proved that the non-disclosure of the unknown fact in time is wholly or partly attributable to him.
7. No one shall be liable to be tried or punished again for an offence for which he has already been finally convicted or acquitted in accordance with the law and penal procedure of each country.

Questions for Discussion

Discuss the following questions and prepare a brief 3–5 minute presentation for the rest of the class.

- What civil or political right does this article declare?
- Do you think the civil or political right defined in this article is applicable internationally? Why or why not?
- What personal experiences, knowledge, or understanding do you have about this right?

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ARTICLES 15, 16, AND 17

Article 15: Prohibition of Ex Post Facto Laws

1. No one shall be held guilty of any criminal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a criminal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time when the criminal offence was committed. If, subsequent to the commission of the offence, provision is made by law for the imposition of a lighter penalty, the offender shall benefit thereby.
2. Nothing in this article shall prejudice the trial and punishment of any person for any act or omission which, at the time when it was committed, was criminal according to the general principles of law recognized by the community of nations.

Article 16: Recognition as a Person under the Law

1. Everyone shall have the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 17: Freedom from Arbitrary Interference with Privacy, Family, Home

1. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his honour and reputation.
2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Questions for Discussion

Discuss the following questions and prepare a brief 3–5 minute presentation for the rest of the class.

- What civil or political right does each article declare?
- Do you think the civil or political right defined in each article is applicable internationally? Why or why not?
- What personal experiences, knowledge, or understanding do you have about these rights?

ARTICLES 18 AND 19

Article 18: Freedom of Thought, Conscience, and Religion

1. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion. This right shall include freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice, and freedom, either individually or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in worship, observance, practice, and teaching.
2. No one shall be subject to coercion which would impair his freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice.
3. Freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs may be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary to protect public safety, order, health, or morals or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.
4. The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.

Article 19: Freedom of Opinion and Expression

1. Everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference.
2. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice.
3. The exercise of the rights provided for in paragraph 2 of this article carries with it special duties and responsibilities. It may therefore be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary:
   a. For respect of the rights or reputations of others;
   b. For the protection of national security or of public order, or of public health or morals.

Questions for Discussion

Discuss the following questions and prepare a brief 3–5 minute presentation for the rest of the class.

- What civil or political right does each article declare?
- Do you think the civil or political right defined in each article is applicable internationally? Why or why not?
- What personal experiences, knowledge, or understanding do you have about these rights?

ARTICLES 20, 21, AND 22

Article 20: Prohibition of Propaganda Relating to War or Racial, National, or Religious Hatred

1. Any propaganda for war shall be prohibited by law.
2. Any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law.

Article 21: Freedom of Assembly

1. The right of peaceful assembly shall be recognized. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of this right other than those imposed in conformity with the law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order, the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

Article 22: Freedom of Association

1. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of association with others, including the right to form and join trade unions for the protection of his interests.
2. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of this right other than those which are prescribed by law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public order, the protection of public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others. This article shall not prevent the imposition of lawful restrictions on members of the armed forces and of the police in their exercise of this right.

Questions for Discussion

Discuss the following questions and prepare a brief 3–5 minute presentation for the rest of the class.

- What civil or political right does each article declare?

- Do you think the civil or political right defined in each article is applicable internationally? Why or why not?

- What personal experiences, knowledge, or understanding do you have about these rights?

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ARTICLES 23 AND 24

Article 23: Protection of the Family

1. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.
2. The right of men and women of marriageable age to marry and to found a family shall be recognized.
3. No marriage shall be entered into without the free and full consent of the intending spouses.
4. States Parties to the present Covenant shall take appropriate steps to ensure equality of rights and responsibilities of spouses as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution. In the case of dissolution, provision shall be made for the necessary protection of any children.

Article 24: Protection of Children

1. Every child shall have, without any discrimination as to race, colour, sex, language, religion, national or social origin, property or birth, the right to such measures of protection as are required by his status as a minor, on the part of his family, society and the State.
2. Every child shall be registered immediately after birth and shall have a name.
3. Every child has the right to acquire a nationality.

Questions for Discussion

Discuss the following questions and prepare a brief 3–5 minute presentation for the rest of the class.

- What civil or political right does each article declare?
- Do you think the civil or political right defined in each article is applicable internationally? Why or why not?
- What personal experiences, knowledge, or understanding do you have about these rights?

ARTICLES 25, 26, AND 27

Article 25: Access to the Political System

1. Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in Article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions:
    - a. To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives;
    - b. To vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors;
    - c. To have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country.

Article 26: Equality before the Law

1. All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Article 27: The Rights of Minorities to Culture, Religion, and Language

1. In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language.

Questions for Discussion

Discuss the following questions and prepare a brief 3–5 minute presentation for the rest of the class.

- What civil or political right does each article declare?

- Do you think the civil or political right defined in each article is applicable internationally? Why or why not?

- What personal experiences, knowledge, or understanding do you have about these rights?

handout #1

Brief History of Koreans in Japan

At present, there are approximately 700,000 Koreans living in Japan. The presence of a large ethnic minority of Koreans in Japan is mainly a legacy of Japanese colonialism. When Japan annexed Korea in 1910, there were only about 800 Koreans in Japan. Many of these Koreans were students in Tokyo, then known as the intellectual center of eastern Asia to which non-Japanese Asians were drawn to study Western civilization. The period from 1921 to 1931 marked immigration on a large scale. In that period, over 400,000 Koreans emigrated to Japan, mostly due to bad economic conditions in Korea and the hope of higher pay for labor. Furthermore, the enactment in 1939 of the National Service Draft Ordinance on the eve of World War II brought forced laborers and military draftees to Japan to fill the labor shortage incurred by the war economy. At the same time, free laborers and poor peasants voluntarily migrated to Japan in search of employment. Of the estimated 6 million Koreans mobilized in Japan and Korea for the war effort by the Japanese government, approximately 1 million were draftees and conscripted laborers shipped to Japan between 1939 and 1945. By the end of the war, there were more than 2 million Koreans in Japan. By late 1948, an estimated 1,800,000 Koreans were repatriated, leaving behind some 600,000 in Japan. Most of the remaining Koreans had little desire to return to their devastated and now divided homeland.

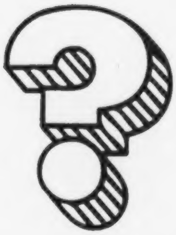
In late 1959, the Japanese government made arrangements with the North Korean regime to repatriate again as many Koreans as were willing to leave. In the late 1970s approximately 650,000 Koreans resided in Japan, constituting the largest ethnic minority. Approximately 75 percent of this population consisted of Japanese-born second- and third-generation Koreans. Many had never been to Korea, nor learned to speak Korean. Although the vast majority of them were born in Japan, not many have Japanese citizenship. Most of them are classified by the Ministry of Justice as aliens.

Many Koreans believe that legal and social barriers effectively keep this ethnic minority apart from the mainstream of Japanese society. Koreans were given Japanese nationality during the colonial period and retained it until 1952, when the Alien Registration Order disenfranchised them and declared them aliens, excluded from the benefits reserved for Japanese citizens. As Japan does not recognize the principle of *jus soli*, birth in Japan does not legally assure Japanese citizenship. In some localities, Koreans have been denied access to public housing, child welfare, and aid to families with dependent children. The social welfare benefits for Koreans are limited to the bare minimum, such as national health insurance and unemployment compensation. No social security benefits are applicable to Koreans who hold permanent resident alien status. The avenue for becoming naturalized citizens is not entirely closed to Koreans, however, as the number of Koreans becoming naturalized have been rising.

Social discrimination also isolates Koreans in Japan. They are an ethnic minority in a highly homogeneous society. The employment rate for Koreans remained low even during the rapid economic growth after World War II. Most enterprises owned and operated by Koreans are small businesses related to the entertainment and service industries, for example, pinball parlors, restaurants, scrap yards, cabarets, and saunas. Some Koreans resort to illegitimate means to make a living, and apparently some are engaged in organized crime. There are only a few Koreans who have made fortunes in legitimate businesses competing with other Japanese industries. Some Koreans have also become very successful as professional wrestlers, baseball players, and pop singers. Very few of them use an original Korean name.

The Korean community in Japan has been split by an ideological rivalry between supporters of North and South Korea. The *Chosen Soren* (General Federation of Korean Residents in Japan) is a supporter of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea), and the *Mindan* (Korean Residents Association in Japan) supports the Republic of Korea (South Korea). Each organization claims to be the sole representative body of all Koreans in Japan, and both have used their influence to try to protect Korean interests in Japan. They maintain separate educational systems, cooperatives, credit unions, and other voluntary associations, and they reside in separate neighborhoods. The antagonism between the two organizations is so fierce that the chance of their uniting as a cohesive ethnic interest group is remote. This division has seriously crippled attempts to demand changes in the policies of the Japanese government.

Source: "Koreans in Japan," *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1993). p. 830.



QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

In Japanese schools, Korean children are treated equally with the Japanese children. They are required to learn in Japanese the same subjects as the Japanese students, including Japanese language and history. Approximately 20 percent of Korean children in Japan attend Korean schools managed by Koreans. Because most of these schools are not accredited as regular schools under the law, graduates of Korean high schools are not regarded as qualified to enter the Japanese national universities. However, some private and municipal universities do admit such graduates. This is a questionnaire that was sent to 164 Korean students in Japanese high schools by the Korean Scholarship Society in 1975.

Are you using your Korean name at school?	
Yes	23.7%
No	76.3%

Did you use your Korean name in junior high school?	
Yes	5.0%
No	95.0%

Are your closest friends Korean or Japanese?	
Japanese	71.2%
Korean	26.6%

Of those seeking a close friend, which would you prefer?	
Korean	54.6%
Either	42.4%
Japanese	3.0%

Do your parents wish you to live as a Korean?	
Yes	49.0%
Don't know	31.0%
As Japanese	2.4%
Other or no reply	17.6%

What do you think about being born Korean?	
Proud	27.4%
Rather be Japanese	20.1%
No answer	46.9%

Who would you prefer to marry?	
Korean	40.4%
Japanese	6.0%
Either	26.2%
Any nationality	27.4%

Source: Thomas Rohlen, "Education: Policies and Prospects," in Lee, Changsoo and George De Vos, *Koreans in Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981). p. 193.

"I AM A KOREAN," BY HWANG KYUNG JA

This is a poem written by a Korean girl in Japan to commemorate her name change from a Japanese name to a Korean name.

Although I'm a Korean,
Until now I've used a Japanese name.
Why, that's nothing short of telling a lie!
When my mother said to us sisters—
"Since you are Koreans, you are to use
your Korean names,"
We opposed her. After all,
When even now everyone says
"You Koreans, go back. go back to Korea"
Wouldn't they hound us even more
If once we changed our names?

But, you know, it was actually a relief
To use my own country's name.
From now on I'll tell everybody—
"I'm a Korean," and even if they don't
Call me Kyung Ja, they'll see it
Written on my nametag and know anyway.
Since I've begun to use that name,
My friends call me "Hwan San" or "Kyon Chan."
It makes me so happy!
But, of course, there are still those who try to
Make fools of us, shouting "Korean, Korean!"
It annoys me, I admit, for though I pretend
Not to hear, it's hard to take.
Yet I'm a Korean,
And no matter what they say to me,
I won't be discouraged.

Source: *International Documentation (IDOC)*, No. 65: Marginalization of Peoples (New York, NY: IDOC/North America, September 1974). p. 40.

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"I WANT TO BE A JAPANESE," BY OMURA AKIKO

This is a poem written by a fourteen-year-old Korean girl in Japan whose parents had not yet been naturalized.

Until this moment,
I have been hating myself being Korean.

When I was little,
I was really shocked to learn myself to be Korean.

Korea is a beautiful country.
My father, brother, and sister have been there several times.
I was told that the air is much cleaner, and things are much cheaper, too.

But, I can't help disliking Korea.
I don't think I can love it as my motherland.

When I was little, how many times was I insulted by my peers and ridiculed about Korea?

When they said, how lucky they were to be born as Japanese, I wish I could have said the same.

By all means, I want to be a Japanese.
When I am 15
I must do my alien registration in person.

What shall I do, how shall I behave, at the local district office?
I just hate to think of myself going to that office.

Nevertheless, my 15th birthday is coming soon...

Source: Changsoo Lee, "The Legal Status of Koreans in Japan," in Lee, Changsoo and George De Vos, *Koreans in Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981). p. 154.

For discussion:

- What message is the author of each poem conveying?
- What significance does changing names have for the Koreans in Japan?
- What issues might arise for the author of Poem #1 if she keeps her Korean name and continues to live in Japan?
- If the author of Poem #2 continues to use her Japanese name, what impact might it have on her identity as a Korean?
- In what ways would your life change if you had to change your name to a new one which is ethnically different from yours?
- Discuss the civil rights issues presented in the poems.

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PERSONAL NARRATIVES

Perspective #1

My father decided to be naturalized after years of painful deliberation and agony. It meant that we became legally Japanese. But for Koreans, legally becoming Japanese does not necessarily assure them equality...If I were not then nine years old, I would have refused to be naturalized. My parents' rationale for the naturalization was to avoid having us in a disadvantaged position in the future when applying for school admission and employment. For that reason alone, however, can they renounce their own fatherland?...Instead of becoming a "half Japanese," I strongly wished to live as a Korean. When I visited my fellow Korean students who were struggling hard to keep their own ethnic identity in an alien land, they were reluctant to greet me by shaking my hand, because I was a naturalized Japanese...Frankly, in their view, I was a turncoat who gave up his fatherland. I am neither to be Japanese nor Korean but the one who has abandoned his fatherland...Where is my place to live and rest myself?

Source: Changsoo Lee, "The Legal Status of Koreans in Japan," in Lee, Changsoo and George De Vos, *Koreans in Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981). p. 156.

Perspective #2

I know I am a Korean but I do not feel a true yearning toward my own country, in spite of the fact that I went to the Korean schools...What bothers me really is the problems of the future for the Koreans in Japan. We will inherit the Korean blood but as we continue to live in the Japanese environment, the awareness of our being Korean will inevitably become less and less intense. We will remain Koreans, no doubt. However, will we not become different from the Koreans living in Korea?

Source: Hiroshi Wagatsuma, "Problems of Self-Identity Among Korean Youth in Japan," in Lee, Changsoo and George De Vos, *Koreans in Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981). p. 329.

Perspective #3

It's a matter of which do I like better, *kimchi* (Korean pickles) or *takuan* (Japanese pickles). Frankly, I prefer *takuan*. When I was growing up my father wanted me to like *kimchi* and I ate it at home, but despite my efforts I couldn't change from liking *takuan* better. Now I'm a parent and I have gone through a period in which I struggled to find the meaning of being a Korean in Japan. I've come to understand better my father's wish that I like *kimchi*, and I've started thinking about my own children's education in this regard. But frankly I must admit I still like *takuan* better, and I don't think I know what being or feeling Korean really is.

Source: Thomas Rohlen, "Education: Policies and Prospects," in Lee, Changsoo and George De Vos, *Koreans in Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981). p. 217.

handout #2

For discussion:

- What are the issues being addressed in each perspective?

- Why is the author of Perspective #1 struggling with his identity?

- Why does the author of Perspective #2 say he will "become different from the Koreans living in Korea"?

- How do you think the author of Perspective #3 will educate his children? Will he teach them to appreciate Japanese culture or Korean culture or both?

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PAK CHONG-SOK VS. THE HITACHI COMPANY (1974)

While reading this information, consider the following questions:

- Why did Pak use his Japanese name in applying for the job at Hitachi?
- Do you think not using his Korean name was the right thing to do? What would you have done?
- How do you think the boycott of Hitachi products influenced people's opinions about the case? about the treatment of Koreans in Japan in general?
- Why did Pak refuse to settle out of court?
  (In fact, Pak accepted the job offer, and was given employment with Hitachi.)
- What civil rights were violated in this case? (If applicable, refer to the articles in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.)
- How does Pak's determination to settle the case in court and his subsequent decision to work at Hitachi affect the Korean people's view of civil rights in Japan?

Pak Chong-sok, the plaintiff in this case, was born in Japan of Korean parents who emigrated to Japan in 1929. Until he finished high school, he used his Japanese name, Arai Shoji, like many others hoping to advance occupationally through educational means. He neither speaks nor reads a word of Korean. In 1970, he responded to an employment advertisement by the Hitachi Company and applied for a job. He successfully passed the company's examination and received an official notice of hiring. As is customary in Japan, to complete his personnel file the Hitachi Company asked him to submit a certificate showing his *koseki* (family registry) system. It was then that the company learned of his Korean nationality. When Pak initially filed his application he had used his Japanese name and had put down his place of birth as Japan. He had intended to disguise his nationality, for he thought the Hitachi Company would not even accept his application if they knew of his Korean nationality. Legally, he should have used his Korean name as it appears on his alien registration card and the permanent address of his *koseki* to identify his national origin. A few days later, Pak received a letter of rejection from the Hitachi Company on the ground that he had committed perjury by providing false information.

Pak insisted that the perjury charge was merely an excuse for the company's discriminatory hiring policy. He decided to file a suit against the Hitachi Company, charging discriminatory hiring practices and the violation of his fundamental human rights. His suit was supported by a few Japanese and Korean civil libertarians. Many young people began to gather around Pak in support of his battle against one of the biggest business giants in Japan. They organized a group called the Committee to Support Pak Chong-sok and conducted an extensive campaign to mobilize public opinion to influence the judicial decision. During the three-year legal battle, this group was able to organize a very successful boycott campaign against Hitachi products by sending out letters to practically every known human-rights commission in the world. Hitachi and its subsidiary companies were extremely concerned with their image abroad, especially in Southeast Asia and Korea, where they had substantial investments. What Hitachi feared most was that the boycott, which had spread from Japan to Korea, would spread to other areas as well.

While the trial was still in progress, Hitachi privately made an offer to settle the dispute out of court. The company agreed to reinstate Pak with all back wages plus the monetary compensation he had demanded as retribution. Pak, however, rejected the offer, arguing that Hitachi had refused to acknowledge in public its discriminatory hiring practices against Koreans.

Source: Changsoo Lee and George De Vos, "On Both Sides of Japanese Justice," in Lee, Changsoo and George De Vos, *Koreans in Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981). pp. 277–278.

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LIST OF MOOT COURT ROLES

Judges:

Number of students: 4 to 5

Role: to render a decision on the case at the end of the trial

Lawyers:

Number of students: 2 to 3 for prosecution; 2 to 3 for defense

Role: to present the arguments for each respective party

Bailiff:

Number of students: 1

Role: to call the trial session to begin/end; to keep order in the court; to keep time

Audience/Jury:

Number of students: the rest of the class

Role: to come to a conclusion on the case at the end of the trial

PROCEDURES FOR LAWYERS

Lawyers for both sides present the oral arguments for or against the motion brought by the defense. You will present your position and answer questions by the judges as well as try to refute the opposing lawyers' arguments in your rebuttal.

The Prosecution

The prosecutor presents the case for the plaintiff against the defendant.

The Defense

The defense lawyer presents the case for the defendant.

The Opening Statement

The opening statement outlines the case as you intend to present it. The prosecution delivers the first opening statement. A defense lawyer will follow immediately with his/her opening remarks. A good opening statement should:

- explain what you plan to prove and how you will do it
- present the events of the case in an orderly sequence that is easy to understand
- suggest a motive or emphasize a lack of motive for the crime
- begin with a formal address to the judge: "Your Honor, my name is ______, the prosecutor representing ______ in this action" or "Your Honor, my name is _______, counsel for _________ (defendant) in this action."
- use proper phrasing such as: "The facts will show..."; "The defendant will testify that..."

Closing Arguments

A good closing argument summarizes the case in the light most favorable to your position. The prosecution delivers the first closing argument. The closing argument of the defense lawyer concludes the presentations. A good closing argument should:

- be spontaneous, synthesizing what actually happened in court rather than being "pre-packaged"
- be emotionally charged and strongly appealing (unlike the calm opening statement)
- emphasize the facts which support the claims of your side, but not raise any new facts
- attempt to reconcile inconsistencies that might hurt your side
- be well organized
- emphasize that it has proven guilt beyond a reasonable doubt (for the prosecution)
- raise questions which suggest the continued existence of a reasonable doubt (for the defense)

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- use proper phrasing such as: "The prosecution has failed to prove that..."; "The defense would have you believe that..."
- appeal to convict or acquit the defendant

handout #5

PROCEDURES FOR BAILIFF

The bailiff aids the judges in conducting the trial. When the judges arrive in the courtroom, introduce yourself and explain that you will assist as the court bailiff. The bailiff's major duties are to call the court to order, and to time the trial.

Calling the Court to Order

Use the language below:

When the judges have announced that the trial shall begin, say: "All rise, Superior Court of the State of ___________, County of __________, the Honorable Judge_____________ (for each judge present) presiding, is now in session. Please be seated and come to order."

Timing the Trial

Keep time on the trial by using a watch or stopwatch. Interruptions in the presentations do not count as time. Also, do not include time when the lawyers are making objections or when judges are questioning the lawyers or offering their observations.

BACKGROUND ON THE LEGAL STATUS OF KOREANS IN JAPAN

After Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, Koreans were regarded as Japanese nationals. However, the Japanese government maintained a segregated *koseki* (family registry) system to differentiate *naichijin* (those of Japanese ancestry) from *gaichijin* (those of colonial origin). Then, in 1952, the Ministry of Justice in Japan issued a circular notice announcing that all Koreans, including those residing in Japan, were to lose their Japanese nationality.

Japan's Nationality Law, enacted in 1950, recognizes acquisition of Japanese nationality on the basis of *jus sanguinis*, the principle that a child of Japanese citizens is also a Japanese citizen. Being born in Japan does not determine one's Japanese nationality. As a result, even though more than 80 percent of Koreans in Japan were born in Japan and speak Japanese fluently (many of them do not speak Korean to any degree), they are considered aliens. In addition, under the present law, an alien marrying a Japanese citizen is not automatically entitled to Japanese citizenship.

Almost all Korean residents in Japan are technically eligible for naturalization. However, the average annual rate of Koreans being naturalized is less than 1 percent in Japan (1986). There are various reasons why Koreans do not seek naturalization. For the older generation of Koreans, the memories of the past remain too bitter. For the younger generation there is the belief that naturalization does not necessarily mean acceptance by Japanese society. Also, since a majority of Koreans are opposed to naturalization, those who opt for naturalization may be rejected by the Korean society.

The main reason for the strong opposition to naturalization seems to involve the fact that the Ministry of Justice requires naturalization applicants to be "assimilated" into Japanese society. For example, the ministry recommends that the applicants take Japanese names at the time of naturalization even though the Nationality Law does not have this requirement. If made to do so, the Koreans worry that their cultural identity would be erased. For those who do not seek naturalization, the Alien Registration Law requires them to register with local authorities, and to carry their Registration Certificate at all times, ready to present to the police and other government officials if such officials request its presentation.

Source: Changsoo Lee, "The Legal Status of Koreans in Japan," in Lee, Changsoo and George De Vos, *Koreans in Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981). pp. 133–158.

Lesson 7

KOREAN REUNIFICATION

SELECTED SCENARIOS

Organizing Questions

- What are some scenarios leading to Korean reunification?
- What are some U.S. and Japanese perspectives on Korean reunification?

Introduction

This lesson seeks to identify and describe various scenarios leading to Korean reunification. Students in small groups analyze eight scenarios ranging from reunification by war to reunification by mutual consent to reunification by default.

Objectives

knowledge

- to gain a basic understanding of Korean reunification
- to become aware of eight scenarios leading to Korean reunification
- to gain knowledge of U.S. and Japanese perspectives on Korean reunification

attitude

- to develop an appreciation for the complexity involved in Korean reunification

skill

- to critically analyze scenarios for Korean reunification
- to effectively present a summary of group activities

Materials

- Handout #1: Eight Scenarios for Korean Reunification, six copies
- Korean Reunification Scenario Cards (8 cards per set), six sets
- Country Rankings of Scenarios for Korean Reunification, overhead transparency
- Handout #2: Japanese Perspectives on Korean Reunification, six copies
- Handout #3: U.S. Perspectives on Korean Reunification, six copies

Procedure

1. Review the following information as a summary of the Korean War.

   From 1910 to 1945, Japan had ruled Korea. At the end of World War II in 1945, the Japanese were driven out of Korea, and the

Allies divided Korea into two parts, North Korea and South Korea. The border between North and South Korea was the 38th parallel. Soviet forces occupied North Korea, and U.S. troops occupied South Korea.

This division was meant to be temporary but in 1948, North Korea and South Korea set up separate governments, each claiming to rule the entire Korean Peninsula. Communist North Korea was led by Kim Il Sung and became known as the People's Republic of Korea. South Korea was led by President Syngman Rhee and became known as the Republic of Korea.

By 1949, the United States and the Soviet Union had removed their troops from Korea. On June 25, 1950, the North Korean army invaded South Korea, and on June 27, 1950, President Truman promised U.S. support of South Korea, and asked UN members to come to South Korea's defense. Fifteen other UN members supported South Korea against North Korea, but the United States and South Korea were primarily responsible for fighting against North Korea. By August 1950, North Korea had taken over nearly all of South Korea, but in September 1950, General MacArthur, commander of the U.S. forces, and UN troops led a strong counterattack, resulting in the surrender of thousands of North Koreans. By October 1950, the UN army had reached the Yalu River, the border between North Korea and China. In November 1950, China entered the war in support of North Korea, resulting in UN forces sustaining major losses and casualties and retreating back near the 38th parallel.

MacArthur proposed to expand the war to China, but President Truman opposed this, fearing another world war. By the summer of 1951 and in early 1952, fighting still continued but the war had turned into somewhat of a stalemate. In 1952, Eisenhower became president and promised to end the Korean conflict. The bombing of North Korea intensified, and in May 1953, he threatened to use nuclear weapons to end the conflict.

On July 27, 1953, an armistice was reached that divided Korea into two countries, roughly at the 38th parallel, the prewar dividing line.

2. Inform students that Korean reunification continues to be a much-debated topic among politicians, scholars, and others, and this lesson introduces students to eight scenarios for Korean reunification.

3. Divide the class into six small groups, each representing China, Japan, North Korea, Russia, South Korea, or the United States, and distribute Handout #1, Eight Scenarios for Korean Reunification, to each group. The following are the eight scenarios listed and described on the handout:

   - Scenario #1: War for the purpose of reunification
   - Scenario #2: Limited war escalating into war of reunification
   - Scenario #3: Agreed-upon conventional reunification

- Scenario #4: Confederation
- Scenario #5: Consensual incorporation
- Scenario #6: Economic crisis
- Scenario #7: Political instability
- Scenario #8: Cultural and social opening

In addition, distribute one set of Korean Reunification Scenario Cards (8 cards per set) to each group. Each card has one of the eight scenarios listed.

4. Inform the six groups that representatives from the United Nations have come to discuss prospects for Korean reunification. Each "country" group should spend 30 minutes discussing the eight possible scenarios described on Handout #1.

   Explain to students that their task is to advise the UN officials on which of the scenarios are most desirable from their country's perspective.

   On the front of each card is written one of the possible scenarios for reunification. Each country group should discuss advantages and disadvantages to each scenario and record summaries of these on the back of each card. In addition, Scenario #9 is left blank for students who wish to include another scenario as part of the discussion.

   Finally, each group should rank order the scenarios from most desirable to least desirable from its country's perspective. Students should also consider what they know about reunification issues from the previous six lessons of the unit. Obviously, there are no right or wrong ranking orders.

5. Once all groups have ranked their scenarios, ask a representative from the group to present the rankings to the UN representatives (the rest of the class). Each group must explain its reasoning and the advantages and disadvantages for each scenario to the rest of the class.

   Enter each country's choices onto the overhead transparency of the Country Rankings of Scenarios for Korean Reunification. When all of the countries have finished their presentations, discuss the scenarios that received the higher rankings.

Assessment

As a culminating assignment, ask students to choose one Key Question that they consider to be the most important for the issue of Korean reunification. Each student must now write a letter to the United Nations summarizing his or her own opinion. You can use this as a final assessment tool, as the final piece of a portfolio packet for this unit, or as an optional writing assignment.

Optional Activity

Handout #2, Japanese Perspectives on Korean Reunification, and Handout #3, U.S. Perspectives on Korean Reunification, provide students with contemporary, scholarly perspectives. Assigning both would provide students with a challenging comparative task.

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EIGHT SCENARIOS FOR KOREAN REUNIFICATION*

Violent Reunification

1. War for the express purpose of reunification

   Either North or South Korea initiates war for the sole purpose of reunification, and succeeds. This is what North Korea attempted to do from 1950 to 1953.

2. Limited war escalating into war of reunification

   The use of force for a limited objective leads into all-out war. For example, South Korea might retaliate against acts by the North or vise versa, leading to more intense conflict and war.

Peaceful Reunification

3. Agreed-upon conventional reunification

   Both countries accept a formula for reunification. A committee consisting of North and South Koreans might draft a common constitution, for example.

4. Confederation

   While both Koreas continued to exercise separate rights, a body such as an all-Korean council would symbolize a reunified Korea. This is a "confederation" because each Korea would continue to operate as a separate state, but would combine to act as a single body for diplomatic purposes.

5. Consensual incorporation

   North or South Korea agrees to become part of the political system of the other, creating one government. This is a peaceful process, but the existing government of either North or South Korea would be used.

Reunification by default

6. Economic crisis

   Some sort of economic crisis in North Korea destroys the government, and the South then peacefully extends its political system over the North.

7. Political instability

   The succession of Kim Jong-Il, a weaker leader than his father, to the head of North Korea creates political instability. North Korea's government collapses because Kim Jong-Il is unable to hold it together. South Korea is then able to extend its political system over the North, unifying both Koreas.

8. Cultural and social opening

   With increased foreign contact bringing more exposure to external cultural and social influences, North Korea's leadership loses credibility from its people. Without any power, the North cannot oppose reunification as a result of the South extending over North Korea politically.

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*Summarized from Young C. Kim, "Korean Reunification: Selected Scenarios," in Gong, Gerrit W., Seizaburo Sato, and Tae Hwan Ok, eds. *Korean Peninsula Issues and U.S.–Japan–South Korea Relations*, Volume 2 (Washington, D.C.: The Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1993).

handout #1

Vocabulary

consensual

—existing or made by mutual consent

conventional

—formed by agreement

default

—failure to do or accomplish something

reunification

—noun form of "reunify" or to restore unity to

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KOREAN REUNIFICATION SCENARIO CARDS

Scenario #1

War for the express purpose of reunification

Either North or South Korea initiates war for the sole purpose of reunification, and succeeds. This is what North Korea attempted to do from 1950 to 1953.

Scenario #2

Limited war escalating into war of reunification

The use of force for a limited objective leads into all-out war. For example, South Korea might retaliate against acts by the North, leading to more intense conflict and war.

Scenario #3

Agreed-upon conventional reunification

Both countries accept a formula for reunification. A committee consisting of North and South Koreans might draft a common constitution, for example.

Scenario #1

Advantages:

-

Disadvantages:

-

Scenario #2

Advantages:

-

Disadvantages:

-

Scenario #3

Advantages:

-

Disadvantages:

-

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Scenario #4

Confederation

While both Koreas continued to exercise separate rights, a body such as an all-Korean council would symbolize a reunified Korea. This is a "confederation" because each Korea would continue to operate as a separate state, but would combine to act as a single body for diplomatic purposes.

Scenario #5

Consensual incorporation

North or South Korea agrees to become part of the political system of the other, creating one government. This is a peaceful process, but the existing government of either North or South Korea would be used.

Scenario #6

Economic crisis

Some sort of economic crisis in North Korea destroys the government, and the South then peacefully extends its political system over the North.

Scenario #4

Advantages:

-

Disadvantages:

-

Scenario #5

Advantages:

-

Disadvantages:

-

Scenario #6

Advantages:

-

Disadvantages:

-

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Scenario #7

Political instability

The succession of Kim Jong-Il, a weaker leader than his father, to the head of North Korea creates political instability. North Korea's government collapses because Kim Jong-Il is unable to hold it together. South Korea is then able to extend its political system over the North, unifying both Koreas.

Scenario #8

Cultural and social opening

With increased foreign contact bringing more exposure to external cultural and social influences, North Korea's leadership loses credibility from its people. Without any power, the North cannot oppose reunification as a result of the South extending over North Korea politically.

Scenario #9

Other (please describe)

Scenario #7

Advantages:

-

Disadvantages:

-

Scenario #8

Advantages:

-

Disadvantages:

-

Scenario #9

Advantages:

-

Disadvantages:

-

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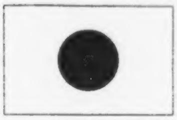
COUNTRY RANKINGS OF SCENARIOS FOR KOREAN REUNIFICATION

	North Korea	**South Korea**	**China**	**Japan**	**Russia**	**United States**
most desirable	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #
	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #
	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #
	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #
	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #
	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #
	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #
least desirable	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #	Scenario #

handout #2



JAPANESE PERSPECTIVES ON KOREAN REUNIFICATION

In the past, Japan's policy regarding the Korean Peninsula had been to promote peace and stability between the two Koreas. However, during the 1990s, that policy has been changing gradually. Recently, Japan has shifted toward concentrating on efforts for a peaceful reunification of North and South Korea.

Japan's emphasis on working toward a reunification of the Korean Peninsula has come about in relation to changes that have occurred both in the Koreas and in other parts of the world. These changes include a widening gap in the relative strengths of North and South Korea, as well as the end of the Cold War and the October 1990 unification of West and East Germany. In light of these changes, the unification of the Koreas has come to be viewed as a real possibility.

With the reunification becoming an increasingly realistic proposal, Japan is reviewing its policies with that possibility as a premise. In a 1992 speech, the Japanese prime minister stated, "The Japanese people are earnestly praying for the day when a peaceful reunification of the Korean Peninsula will be achieved. This is because a peaceful and stable Korean Peninsula is the cornerstone for a peaceful and stable East Asia."

While North Korea proposes its plan based on "one nation, one state, two systems, and two governments," South Korea has proposed a Korean "commonwealth" in which the two systems can coexist during a transition period prior to complete integration. These similarities suggest that some compromise can be reached.

In addition, with the Koreas' joint membership in the United Nations (UN) and the signing of the 1991 Basic Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, and Exchanges and Cooperation, there is more evidence of the similarity in the approach to the unification plans of the two Koreas.

Japan and South Korea normalized diplomatic relations in 1965, and since then Japan has consistently made efforts to maintain friendly relations with South Korea. Japan's changing position on the reunification issue has been demonstrated in its policy toward North Korea. For instance, Japan has quickened steps toward normalizing relations with North Korea, in the hopes that better relations with both countries would contribute to the peace and stability of the Korean Peninsula.

It is predicted that if Japan–North Korea relations are normalized, Japan, through its economic assistance, would make efforts toward improving the living standards of the North Koreans. This would not only benefit the North Korean people, but also help reduce unification costs for South Korea, thereby contributing toward building the foundation for the unification of the Korean Peninsula.

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U.S. PERSPECTIVES ON KOREAN REUNIFICATION

Since the end of World War II, the United States has played an important role as both an onlooker and a participant in affairs surrounding the Korean Peninsula.

In January 1992, former U.S. president George Bush declared U.S. support of peaceful reunification of the Korean Peninsula. His statement, "Korea will be whole again," was intended to dispel any suspicion in South Korea that the United States presented a major obstacle to the prospect of Korea's reunification. U.S. support of reunification was again expressed in a joint statement issued on June 11, 1993 in which the United States declared that in spite of policy differences between North and South Korea on the issue of reunification, the United States makes a blanket pledge to support the "peaceful reunification" of the two Koreas.

Several reasons are often given as to why the United States supports Korean reunification. For one, the process may alleviate some worries about nuclear weapons proliferation. In addition, reunification will bring about an expanded market for the United States, and even more significant, a unified Korean Peninsula may partake in a trilateral relationship with Japan and the United States against any possible conflicts with China and Russia.

On the other hand, the cost of reunification is heavy not only for South Korea but for the United States as well. Furthermore, the reunification process may eventually lead to the withdrawal of U.S. military troops on the peninsula.

As the United States and South Korea try to manage the unification process, they are looking into readjusting their security cooperation toward a regional alliance by synchronizing their parallel endeavors: North–South relations and major power interaction on unification and regional stability, including the crucial role of China. In promoting a peaceful unification by mutual consent between the two Koreas, it is speculated that South Korea will play a leading role. In ensuring the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons on the Korean Peninsula, the United States may take a primary role. With this focus, it is hoped that the unification process will not threaten regional stability.

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